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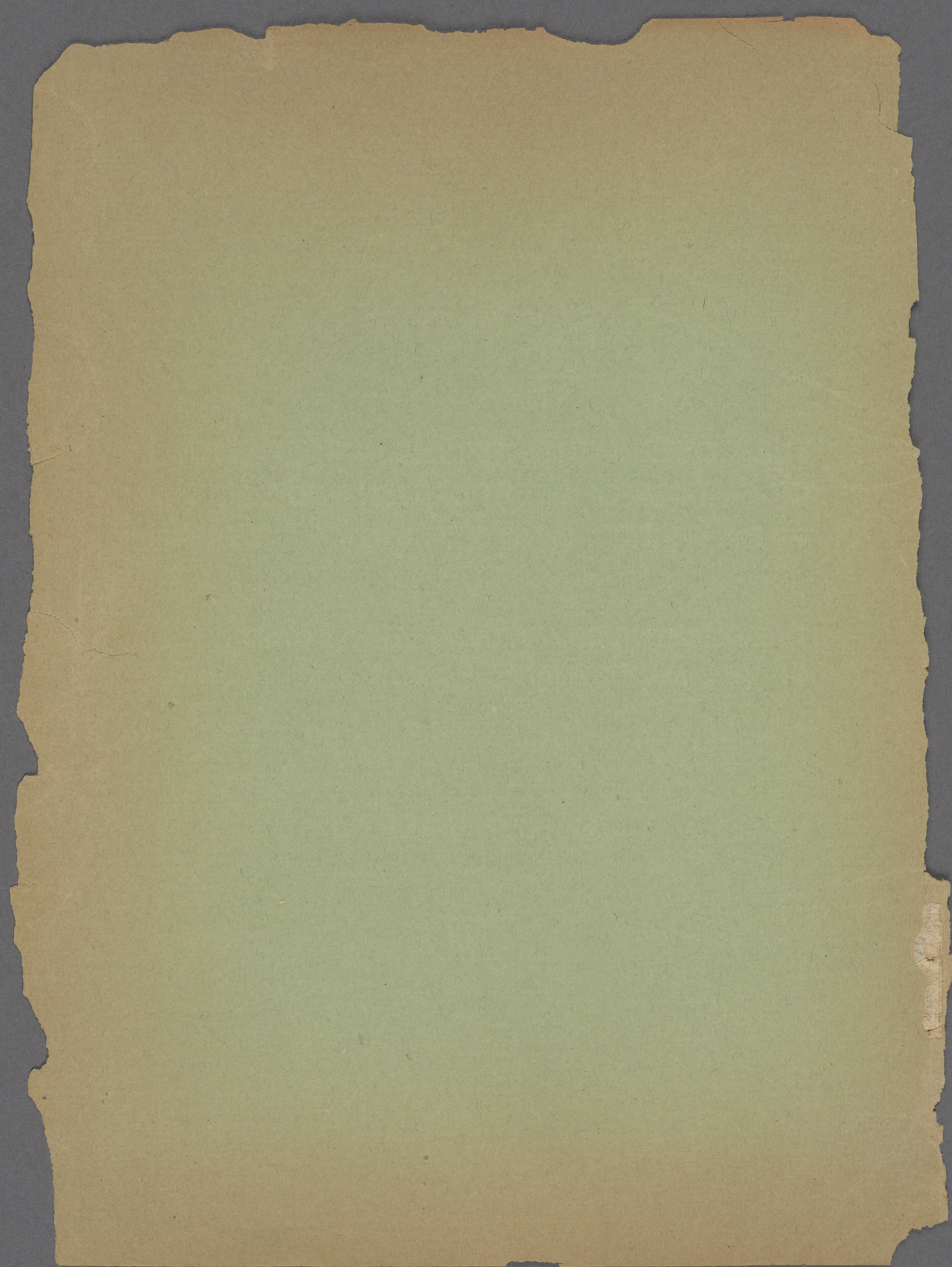
PRESENTED TO

THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
= OF FRANCE, OF ITALY AND OF JAPAN =

BY

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE BROTHERHOODS
OF THE MACEDONIAN EMIGRATION IN BULGARIA

SOFIA — FEBRUARY — 1919



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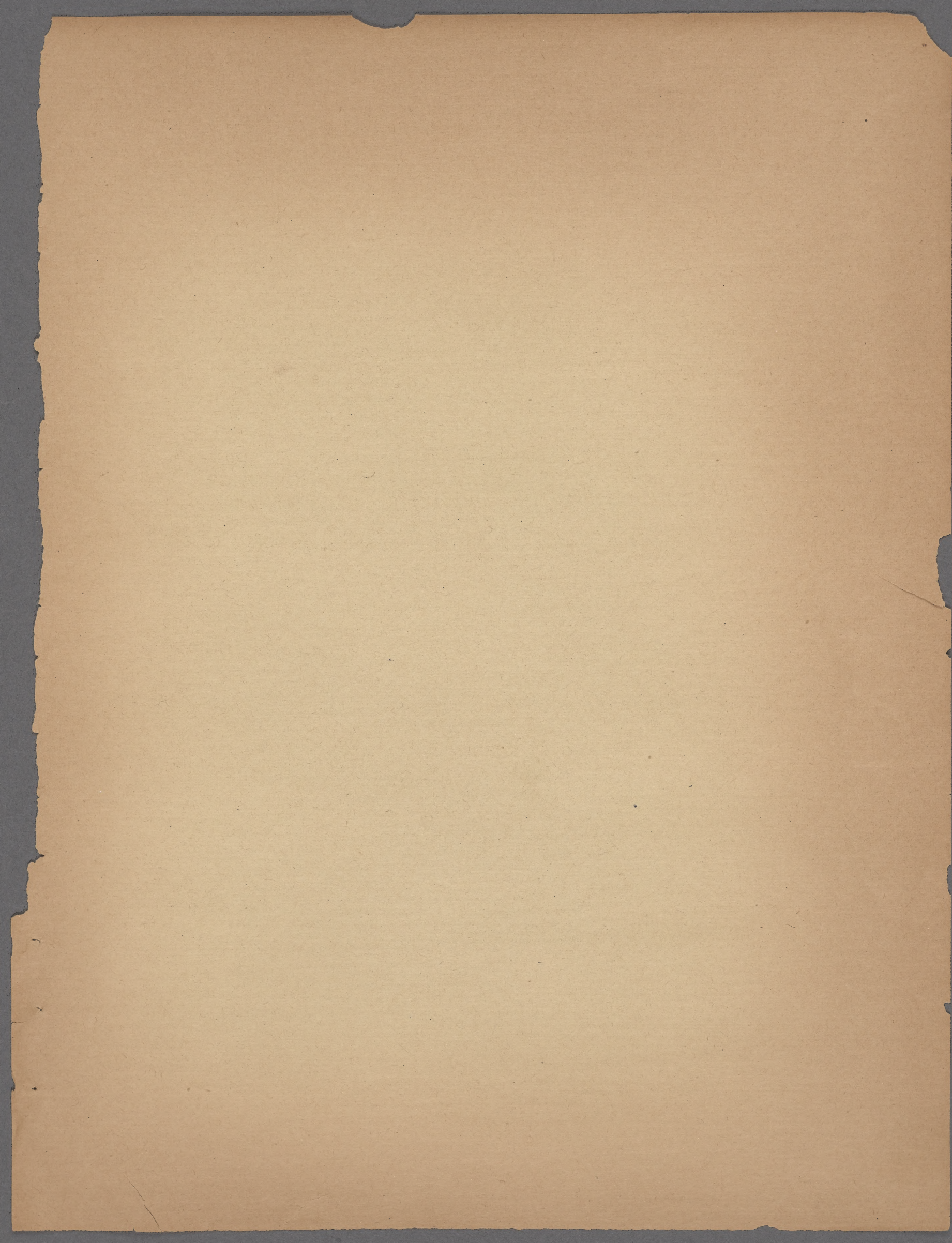
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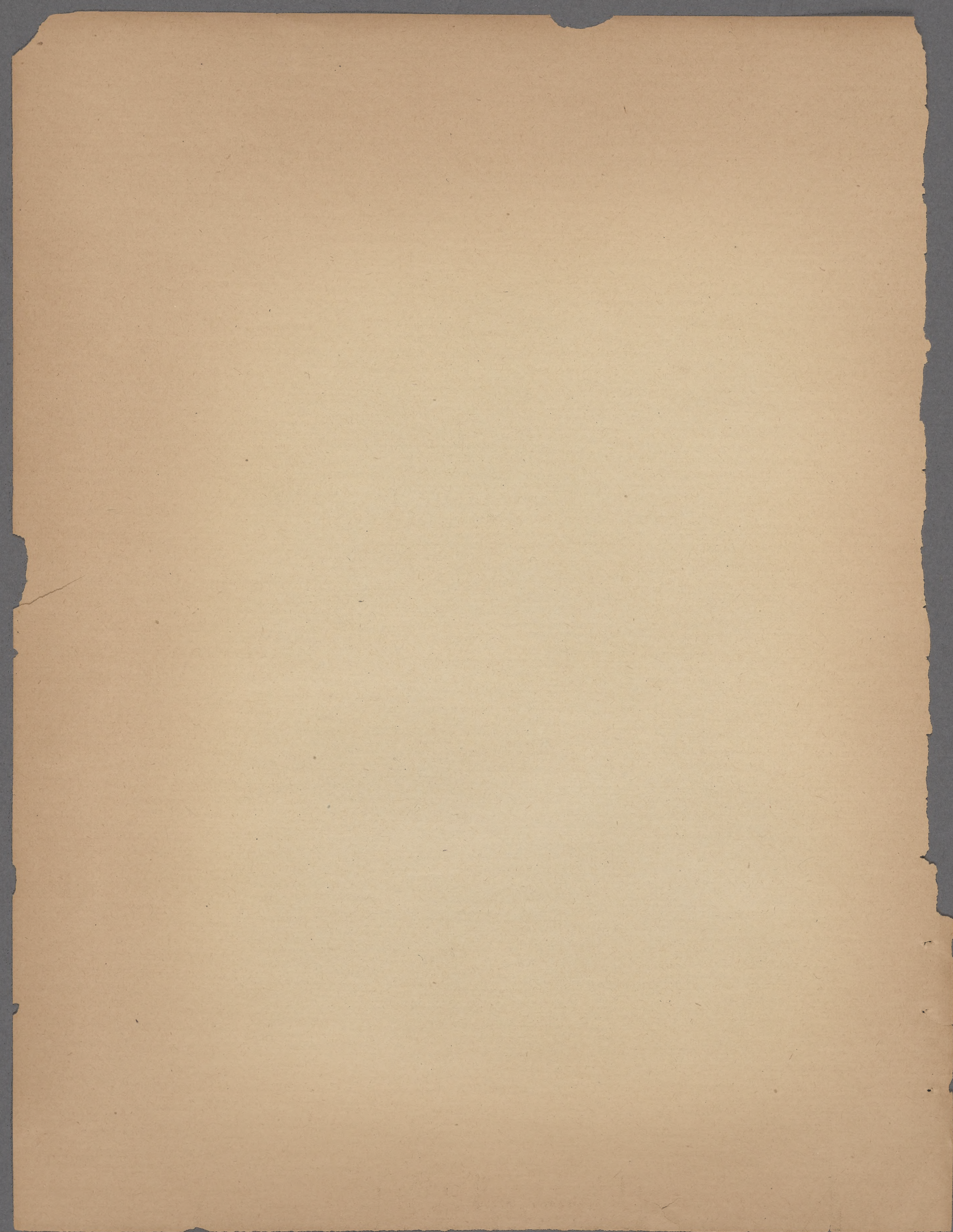
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PREFACE

The Slav population of Macedonia continues to suffer under the foreign yoke, and is subjected to untold privations, humiliations and cruelties because it has never ceased to feel itself Bulgarian, and in the full knowledge of its nationality it has ever manifested its desire to be united to its racial brothers of free Bulgaria.

Centuries have passed since the Macedonian Bulgarians commenced their struggle, since they have hoped to attain their national ideal, and now, brought up before the all powerful international court, which is to solve this question of great moment, as to their liberation, they are enduring days of great perturbation, disturbed by disquieting hopes and painful suspicions.

All the bloody struggles of the Macedonian Bulgarians during the last thirty years, down to 1912, have had one principle object — to provoke the intervention of the Great Powers, signatories of the Berlin treaty, that the injustice perpetrated by that treaty might be rectified by a guarantee to them of a free life.

The racially related Bulgaria had long looked on patiently upon the unequal struggle and the unheard of sufferings of the macedonians, until, in 1912, it found itself obliged, even at the greatest sacrifice, to throw herself boldly into the struggle, that she may rescue them from the Turkish slavery.

Unfortunately, the noble object persued was not attained even after the heavy sacrifices the Bulgarians of the kingdom gave in this war, as also in the Balcan war, 1913, between the allies. On the contrary the conditions have grown worse, — the Bucarest treaty of 1913 sanctioned a new subjection of the Macedonian people under the double yoke of Greece and Serbia — far more unbearable for the Macedonians than the preceding Turkish one! This sad result, as it should be known, led Bulgaria into the universal conflict — with ever the same noble object in view, that the reunion of the Bulgarian nation may be finally attained.

Notwithstanding the disastrous end of this war for Bulgaria, the hopes of the Macedonian Bulgarians are yet great that the heavy sacrifices have not been in vain, chiefly because of the happy fact, that the conquering powers of the Entente, have repeatedly proclaimed, that they carried on this war for the liberation of the oppressed nations, that they will be guided, in concluding the general peace, by the wise principles of humanity, which forbid the right to oppress. The Macedonian Bulgarians think that they have given sufficient proofs that they are a people

with a clear national conscience, and that they have worthily struggled against alien oppression, and for national freedom.

In mind of these facts of the past, we, the undersigned representatives of the numerous Bulgarian emigration, from all parts of Macedonia, inspired by the same hopes, we come before the Peace Conference with the present Memoir, to submit to its consideration the principle testimonies of our national rights, which we believe are uncontestable and holy.

As will be seen from the contents of the Memoir, these our rights are proved by the political and cultural history of the Macedonian Bulgarians for centuries past; by the noble efforts of numerous national Macedonian eminent men, who laid the foundation of the national enlightenment, spiritual awakening and independent church for the entire Bulgarian nation; by the testimony of a great number of foreigners, among them not a few of Serbian and Greek nationality! — who as travellers, as learned men, as diplomats confirm the same from their own experience, that all the Slav population in Macedonia, as to nationality, is Bulgarian; by international diplomatic acts, in which are indicated the ethnographical boundaries of the Bulgarian race, in including the whole of Macedonia; by the undoubted expression of the will of the Macedonian population in the plebiscit taken, after 1870, on the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate; by the fact of the armed revolutionary struggle, undertaken after the Berlin congress, for freedom — the well known to all Macedonian revolution, whose Bulgarian character is beyond doubt; by the masses of Macedonians who voluntarily took part in the war of liberation 1912—1913 against the Turks, the Greeks and Serbians; by the insurrectionary movement which continued later in Macedonia during the Serbian and Greek rule, from 1913—1915, and finally by the even greater share the Macedonians took in the present war alongside of Bulgaria, which war had, in the first place, Serbia for its object.

These our arguments are detailed in the Memoir in order, under the following heads:

- I. Macedonia and the Bulgarian Regeneration in the XIX century.
- II. Th Bulgarian character of Macedonia during the Middle Ages.
- III. Testimony from Foreign Travellers and Learned Men, down to 1878.
- IV. Serbian and Greek Testimony regarding Macedonia in recent times.
- V. International and Diplomatic Acts.
- VI. Revolutionary action after the Berlin Tréaty.
- VII. Ilinden's (st. Elya) Insurrection.
- VIII. Intervention of the Great Powers.
- IX. The War of Liberation and the Bucarest Treaty, 1913.
- X. The Serbian and Greek Yoke.
- XI. Testimony of Learned Men. foreigners, snbsequent to the Berlin Congress.
- XII. Conclusion.

I

MACEDONIA AND THE BULGARIAN REGENERATION IN THE XIX CENTURY

History tells us that, in the middle of the XV century, the whole of the Balcan peninsula was conquered by the Turks. The Ottoman empire being a religious one, and the ruler the padishah of those of the true faith, vicar of Mahomed, the national idea was foreign to them; the subjects were divided into two classes — masters-conquerors and subjected rayas — in a political-social sense, Musulman and Christian — in a religious sense. For this reason the Constantinople Patriarch was recognized as the spiritual head of all the christians in „Roumelia“ and was accepted as Milet-bashi (Community Chief) of the entire „Roumelian people“, a term by which the Turks understood all the subjected christians. In this manner the Bulgarian nation had the misfortune to fall under the double oppression — Turkish political, and Greek spirirual. This oppression lasted five centuries.

The regeneration of the Bulgarian nation commences only from the XVIII century, and the first signs of it are given in Macedonia. This Bulgarian province was situated on one side furthest from the centre of the Greek Fanariote Clergy-Constantinople, on the other nearest to the Slavs of Austria, through whom it came in touch with the civilization of Western Europe. The ideas of freedom and liberty of the Anglo-Saxon race, so generously popularized by the French writers of the XVIII century, penetrated to the western part of the Bulgarian country through Vienna, Budapest, Novi-Sad, Zemlin and Belgrade, and acted as a stimulent upon the minds of the population in proportion to its still undeveloped culture, and especially upon its gteatest need — national self-determination, in order to commence above all a struggle for spiritual emancipation. In 1741 Hristophor Djefarovitch, whom the Serbian Metropolitan of Karlovitz, Pavel Nenadovitch, called „the zealous defender of his Bulgarian Country“, published in Vienna his „Stematografia“ with rhe coat of arms of Bulgaria and those of other Slav nations, as also with the pictures of their saints. Djefarovitch was born in Doiran, and died in Moscow in September 18, 1753.

In the northern parts of Macedonia was born, in 1721, the father of Bulgarian history, father Paisyi. In his „Slavo-Bulgarian History“, written in the Hilindar and Zografsky monasteries, in Mount Athos, he exclaims: Thou Bulgarian, do not be tempted; know thy race and language, and be taught in thy language! This thundering call spread throughout all the Bulgarian land, and awakened the Bulgarian minds from the confusion into which Serbian and Greek mockeries kept them.

Hadji Iakim Kartchovsky was also a Macedonian, from the village Oslomevi, district Kitchevo; he was the first Bulgarian writer, who first printed books in the modern Bulgarian vernacular, as early as 1814. The first book of Hadji Iakim „The story of the dreadful and second coming of Christ“ was written, as he expresses himself, „in the common Bulgarian language for the use of the common uneducated man“. The book is printed in Budin (Buda-Pest) 1814.

Kiril Paitchinovitch, comes from the village of Teartzi, district Tetovo, Northern Macedonia, is a younger contemporary of Hadji Iakim. He continued the introduction by Hadji Iakim of the common Bulgarian language. In 1814 was published in Budin his book „Mirror“ written in the commonest vernacular language of lower Moesia.

Neofit Rilsky (1793—1879) „The father of the Bulgarian pedagogues and philologists“, is also Macedonian, he was born in the village of Bansko, Razlog district.

Another Bulgarian patriot and enlightened man, Hadji Pop Teodosi, from Doiran, observing that the Greeks had many printing presses at their service, that the Bulgarians possessed none, decides to establish a Bulgarian one. Supported by all the good Bulgarians in the country, he realises his noble project: in 1838 a Bulgarian printing press is established in Salonica, it is the first in the whole of the Bulgarian country. Hadji Pop Teodosi is not only a printer; he was teacher of Bulgarian children in Salonica, and writer in Slavo-Bulgarian or „the common Bulgarian language“.

After Neofit Rilsky, the second Bulgarian philologist who laboured with the Slav manuscripts in Mount Athos, was Constantin Petkovitch from Bashino selo, near Veless. In many places of his work „Review of the Mount Athos Antiquities“, Petkovitch declares his Bulgarian origin. Thus when speaking of a Bulgarian book he had found in the Monastery St. Pavel, he adds: „it is very important for us Bulgarians because it is an example of the common national language“.

Macedonia also gave birth to the remarkable folklorists of the Bulgarian people, the brothers Demiter and Constantin Miladinoffs from Struga. In 1861 the Miladinoffs published the most important for its time magazine, entitled „Bulgarian National Songs“, collected by the brothers Demiter and Constantin, and printed by Constantin, in Zagreb, in the printing press of A. Jagitch, 1861, (p. VIII & 542).

As is stated in the preface, the songs in this magazine were collected principally within the Macedonian boundaries: the districts of Stroumitza, Kukuch, Struga, Bitolia, Prilep. This magazine of Bulgarian Songs was published at the expense and with the encouragement of the Serbo-Croatian Archbishop Iosif Shrosmayer. For this reason the book is dedicated to the same archbishop.

The first new Bulgarian writers, themselves a manifestation of the national idea in the midst of the macedonian Bulgarians, contributed immensely for the ever greater strengthening in depth and extent of the said idea. To this work is due the fact that the struggle against the Greek spiritual yoke, the struggle for Bulgarian Church and Bulgarian schools, for an unhampered cultural development was started in Macedonia. The town of Scopie gave the first signal for the struggle in 1828. Discontented with the Greek bishops, the Bulgarians

of Scopie and the district, under the leadership of their elder Hadji Traiko, collectively demanded of the Patriarchate that a bishop of Bulgarian birth be sent to them. The struggle between the people and the Patriarchate became very acute: from 1828 to 1833 four Greek bishops were successively removed: Anani, Gideon, Genadi, Neofit. This example given by Scopie was followed by other Bulgarian towns: Samokov (1833), Tirnovo (1840), and by degrees the movement spread over the whole of Bulgaria.

The movement for a national church and schools acquired a political character and was transferred to Constantinople, where in the middle of the last century, the Bulgarian colony numbered not less than 30,000 souls. This colony in its majority consisted of workmen, tradesmen and small merchants. Most of them, nearly all, were from Macedonia. There were also, amongst them, merchants, government contractors, bankers, furriers from Ochrida, but this class of Bulgarians was a very limited one. Leaders and organisers of the Bulgarians in Constantinople against the Greek Patriarchate were Neofit Bozveli from Kotel, Ilarion Makariapolsky from Elena, North-Eastern Bulgaria, and Iosif Riisky, Zahari Strumsky from Macedonia. At this period a constant and active communication is established between the centre of the struggle in Constantinople and the whole of the country. The Bulgarians supported their just cause on history and the right of nations to declare themselves. The two reform acts of the Sublime Porte, Hati-Sherif of 1839, and Hati-Humayun of 1856, served them as bases for their legal claims. The Patriarchate in its defence intimidated the Turkish government with „Panslavism“, and the latter hesitated to give satisfaction to the Bulgarians. The solution of the Bulgarian question was blocked. A new impulse was necessary, it came from Macedonia, namely from the town of Kukush, near Salonica. In 1858, the people of Kukush introduced the national language in the liturgy and clamoured ceaselessly for a Bulgarian bishop for its see. The Patriarchate refused to satisfy the demand, and the Kukush people, on the 22 July 1859, sent a petition to Pope Pius IX, in which after explaining the indignified conduct of the Greek clergy and their evil doings against the Bulgarian people, offered to recognize the Pope as their spiritual head, but on the conditions:

„2-o) We desire and consequently beg Plus IX that no change be introduced in the rules (customs, ceremonies, service) of the church, and in the administration of the mysteries, also in the condition of our priests and the language in which the church prayers will be said, which language is the ancient Bulgarian or Slav.

3-o) Our see to be confided to an Archbishop, elected in accordance with our old customs, thus elected we pray His Holiness Pius IX's approval of him.

4-o) The Archbishop and the Clergy, who will administer the see and the parishes must all be Bulgarians.

5-o) The Bulgarian language with its national letters and characters to be always the principle language and the bases for the teaching of the youth . . .“

This step on the part of the Kukush people, followed by similar ones from those of Enidje-Várdar and Bitolia, disturbed the Fanar as also the Bulgarian patriotic centres. The Greek Patriarchate, in order to prevent the union, which after the town of Kukush might be followed by other Bulgarian towns, invited the leader of the Bulgarian national

movement, Ilarion Makariopolsky, and delegated him to Kukush with a promise to appoint to that town a Bulgarian bishop. Soon after such a one was appointed, Parteni Zografsky, from Galitchnik, former director of the Bulgarian school in Constantinople, and writer in the „Constantinople Journal“ and „Knijitzi“. In this manner Kukush, in Macedonia, at the very gates of Salonica, was the first town to obtain a Bulgarian bishop. It succeeded because it did not hesitate to sacrifice a part of its religious convictions in the interest of national preservation.

At the time of the Kukush incident the Patriarchate took the engagement before Ilarion to appoint to the Bulgarian Sees bishops of their nationality whenever a vacancy occurred in them. Three months later the Metropolitan of Ochrida, Inokenti, died. The Bulgarians, furriers of Ochrida, residing in Constantinople, presented themselves in the Fanar in order to remind it of the given promise. Soon after the town of Ochrida itself sent a petition to the Patriarchate, bearing five thousand signatures, praying for the appointment of a Bulgarian bishop. The Patriarchate appointed a Greek. This trickery provoked great excitement. Ilarion, the leader of the national movement, called a meeting of the Bulgarian representatives of the colony in Constantinople and said to them: I visited Kukush and brought away the following lesson from Macedonia: „When they no longer desire any bishop they expel him; when they desire to free themselves from a Patriarch, they cease to mention his name in the church“. A decision was arrived at to break off official relations with the Fanar, and to cease to mention in the future the name of the Greek Patriarch in the liturgy.

Besides Scopie which gave the signal for the struggle against the Greek spiritual yoke, and which led this struggle since 1828 down to 1874 with rare constancy, and Kukush and Ochrida which gave the fresh impulse to this struggle, the other Bulgarian towns, which played a preeminent part in the national movement for the establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate, are the following:

VELESS, in whose churches and schools the use of the Bulgarian language had never been interrupted, rose unanimously, on the 19 December 1866, against the Greek bishop and expelled him.

PRILEP, which had likewise preserved during its double subjection the Bulgarian writing, and the Bulgarian language in their churches and schools, obliged the Greek bishop, in the beginning of the last century, to renounce his attempt to substitute the Greek language for the Bulgarian in the liturgy. Great services to this end belonged to Hadji Hristo Logotet, an influential and wealthy merchant in Prilep, who advised his fellow citizens with the words: „Take care of the Bulgarian language as the apple of your eye! Otherwise this people (the Greeks) will eat us up.“ On the 21 February 1868, the people of Prilep with a great demonstration expelled from the church the Greek Metropolitan Venedic, and since then no Greek bishop has set his foot in Prilep.

The Russian learned Victor Grigorievitch, who travelled in Macedonia 1844—1845, at the request of the Kazan university, says in his report to the faculty, regarding the population of Bitolia: „In Bitolia, where is kept a very strong garrison in the barracks built by the Bulgarians, live BULGARIANS, Macedono-Vlachs and Albanians. I was told, and was

able to observe it myself, that the majority consists of Bulgarians, but if I am not mistaken in my observations, the Vlachs in this town, as also those of the neighbouring town of Krushewo have acquired special influence, thanks to their neutral conduct". (Description of travels in European Turkey, published in Moscow 1877, page 96). This Vlach minority, entirely hellenized, was then very influential. These Vlachs passing for Greeks had in their hands the greater part of the commerce, and held under their influence the economical life of the numerous Bulgarian population. When the Bulgarians opened a school of their own in 1863, they met with no opposition. Such was not the case, however, with the desire of the Bulgarians to introduce their national liturgy in their church. In 1868, on Christmas day, the Bulgarians took possession of the church „St. Nedelia“ and discarded the chant in Greek. The following Sunday the Vlachs, well armed, reestablished the old condition of things, to be vanquished by the Bulgarians on the following day. The local authorities in the interest of peace were obliged to recognize the accomplished fact. The community was officially constituted in the town of Bitolia in 1869.

In the same year 1869, on the 17 October, a crowd of some 400 workmen and tradesmen in Kostour, penetrated into the residence of the Greek bishop with the cry: „We do not want you, because you are not Bulgarian!“

The Bulgarian national masses triumphed, and in the towns Vodena, Enidje-Vardar, Strumitza, Nevroscop etc, even in Salonica, where commerce had given superiority to the Greek element, the Bulgarians, immigrants from Kukush, Krushevo, Kitchevo, Dibra and other Macedonian towns, finally succeeded to open anew a Bulgarian school in 1865, the first one having been closed in 1833 through the intrigues of the Greeks, notwithstanding strenuous Greek opposition.

During these protracted discussions and severe struggles for a Bulgarian national church many Macedonians distinguished themselves, some sacrificed their lives in the work. The better known amongst them are:

NATANIEL — BOGDAN STOYANOVITCH, later Metropolitan of Ochrida and Plovdiv, laboured during half a century for the cause. While still a scholar in Prilep, in 1837, he translated, with the help of his teacher the book „Slujenie evreisko“ . . . in the common and simple Bulgarian language, as understood by the common people. He is also the author of the book „A friendly letter from a Bulgarian to a Greek“; this book and his autobiography are valuable sources for the history of the Bulgarian national new birth.

PAVEL H. VASILKOFF (Parteni Zografsky) from Galitchnik (1820—1875) comes forward as a warm preacher to the Bulgarians, and as a learned man, who aspires to give precedence to the Macedonian idiom in the general Bulgarian literary language.

The greatest enthusiastic patriot against the Greek spiritual yoke was Jordan Hadji Constantinoff DJINOT, from Veless (1818—1882). He was teacher, agitator, preacher and writer. He visited many towns in Macedonia — Scopie, Tetovo, Doiran, Prilep, Bitolia etc. his longest stay as teacher was in Scopie. The Greek bishop in this town unable to put up with the patriotic action on the part of Djinoť, took advantage of the Crimean war to accuse him for a revolutionary. In 1857 the Turkish government had Djinoť arrested and

interned in Prizren, whence, later, he was confined to Bitolia. Here also Djino continued, his work even with greater zeal. This time on the representations of the Greek bishop, he was exiled to Asia Minor.

The brothers DEMITRE and CONSTANTIN MILADINOFF from Struga, whom we have already mentioned, were sacrificed to the Greek persecution: they died one after the other, on the 19 and 28 of January 1862, in the Constantinople prison, where they had been confined on account of the calumnies of the Fanariots.

RAIKO DJINSIFOFF from Veless, teacher, orator and poet (1839—1877), was also a great patriot against the Greek spiritual oppression. In one of his compositions he exclaims:

Macedonia, wondrous land
can never fall into Greek's hand,
.....
Bulgarians live within the land.

Another enthusiastic patriot, whose energetic preaching facilitated the ruin of the alien endeavours in Western Macedonia, was the poet GRIGOR PARLITCHEFF from Ochrida (1830—1892). He was all but hellenized, he was crowned in Athens for his poem „Armatolos“, he however took a place in the ranks of the best against the Greeks. Throughout Macedonia was sung his song:

Till when brothers, dear brothers,
Till when shall Greeks oppress us.

The writers Antim Risoff from the village Kalkovo, district of Strumitza, and Hadji Pavel Bojigrobsky from the village of Konikovo, district of Enidje-Vardar; the teacher Georghi Dinkoff and his sister, the school teacher Slavka Dincoff from Salonika; the elders: Zafir Maleff and Ivan Karayovoff from Scopie; Angelko Palasheff and the brothers Shuleff from Veless; Hadji Anguel H. Ilieff and Hadji Mirtcha Bombol from Prilep; Dr Mishaikoff from the village Patele, district of Lerin; the brothers Robeff and Dimko Radeff from Bitolia; P. Orloff from the village of Babuchta, district of Kostour; brothers Zanesheff and Hadji Gogo from Vodena; Costa Sarafoff from the village of Libiahovo, district of Nevroco; Hadji Dimko from the village of Gnrno-Brodi, district of Seres; Ivan Gologanoff from the village of Kru-shevo, district of Demir-Hisar, all these and many other national leaders distinguished themselves in this national struggle for an independent Bulgarian church, and for enlightenment through the Bulgarian language. This struggle was finally crowned with success: on the 28 th February (old style) 1870, the Sublime Porte, in the interest of peace in the Vilayets, issued the well known ferman establishing a Bulgarian Exarchate. It is not the Bulgarian Exarchate which created the Bulgarian character of Macedonia by artificial means, as the Ser-vians have been recently affirming, on the contrary, it is the Bulgarians of Macedonia who played a principle part in the creation of the Exarchate. When a year later representatives of the Bulgarian sees met in Constantinople, to elaborate the statutes for the Government of the Bulgarian Church, and to elect an Exarch of this Church, — in the assembly were represented seven Macadonian sees. On this occasion was sent to the Serbian Belgrade newspaper „Edinstvo“, the principle organ for the Serbian national union, the following communication:

„We think it will be of interest to give to our readers the names of the Bulgarian delegates, who after 450 years met, on the 15 th of March 1871, in the once capital of Byzantine glory and greatness, in order to take brotherly counsel, how to organize their church, which until some ten years ago was under the yoke of corrupt Fanariots, and which continues to suffer from them in grieved Macedonia.

„The delegates of whom we will give the names further down, may appear to you few in number in comparison to the Bulgarian people. This is true, but you must not be surprised, because our Bulgarian brothers came to an agreement and from the many who came, for the sake of saving of expense to the communities, the best thirty two were chosen, and agreed that one delegate should represent 3—5 communities. All these chosen persons are distinguished workers, some of them are well known in literature, others in teaching, there are also such as have done great work for the expulsion of the Fanariots. I will give their names, except those of the appointed by the government and the bishops.

„The delegate for the Ochrida see is Manoil Kurktchi; for the Bitolia see Todor Kusevitch; for the Veless see Constantin Schuleff; for the Scopie see Iconom Pop Gheorghy and Stoyan Costoff; for the Poliano-Kukush see Pop Todor, and Constantin Pop Guttoff; for the Vodena see Gheorghy Gogoff; for the Nevrocop see Costa Sarafoff; for the Kustendil see Demiter Angeloff and Iconom Pop Apostol; for the Samokov see Hristo; for the Sofia see Hadji Mano, and Cristo Stoyanoff; for the Nish see Archimandrite Victor; for the Pirot see (Nischava) Costa Daskaloff; for the Vidin see Nicola Parvanoff; for the Vratza see Nicola Zainkinoff; for the Lovtcha see Miro Pavloff; for the Tirnovo see Peter Angueloff, Kantcho Kessaroff, N. Michailowsky and H. Savoff; for the Roustchouk see Pop Peter Arnaudoff; for the Silistra see Demiter Todoroff and Sava Dobroplodni; for the Varna see H. Ivanoff; for the Preslav see Veliko H. Savoff; for the Sliven see Tchintoloff and Stefan Stefanoff; for the Adrianople see Jakov Gheroff; for the Plovdiv see Gheorghy Groueff and M. D. Balabanoff.

„All these national plenipotentiaries for two months, reviewed in 19 sittings the statutes elaborated by the preceding temporary commission, modified some paragraphs, amplified others (we will endeavour to communicate them to you), and passed to the following questions: 1) That the number of the sees be reduced and their extent increased; 2) that the term for the Exarchs be fixed, that is to say whether he is to be for life or for a fixed term; 3) how is to be organized the local Bulgarian church; 4) to consider the government of the monasteries; 5) that the statutes be properly copied, and a good copy be presented to the government for confirmation; 6) that the Exarch be elected.

„This is the work to be done during this month, all are of opinion that by the 1st of June all will be ready to return home.

„All this is so, but I must tell you also the following: the Patriarch is strenuously opposed to it, but under the pressure of the Grand Vizir two Bulgarian functionaries, Mr. Kristovitch and Hadji Ivan Pentchovitch, known to you as members of the „unofficial commission“, are working for an understanding between the Patriarch and the Bulgarians, without consulting the council. Of course the council looks upon this proceeding with discon-

tent, and should the two come to some understanding with the Patriarch, the Bulgarians being the least dependent from the Patriarchate, be sure that the Bulgarian church question will find itself in its previous position. The council will simply confirm what it has accepted. All this will be presented signed to the government for confirmation and the Porte will be asked for permission to elect the Exarch; should this right be granted them, without any subjection to the Patriarch, the Bulgarians will enjoy the possession of an Exarch, should they fail to obtain full permission, anarchy will follow such as it is at present. Bulgaria will be neither in the sky nor on the earth. Thus says the council, thus say all the local Bulgarians. (A letter from Constantinople to the newspaper „Edinstvo“, a political and literary paper in Belgrade, Wednesday, 19th March 1871).

If the Serbians believed in 1871 that Macedonia was populated by Serbians, the newspaper „Edinstvo“ could not have thus chronicled this event of such great importance, it would have expressed discontent and anger against this Bulgarian church question, in which Macedonia took part from the very beginning to its solution.

In article 10th of the Sultan's ferman for the Bulgarian Exarchate are mentioned the sees of which it is to be composed, namely: the Roustchouk, Silistra, Shoumen, Tirnovo, Sofia, Vratza, Lovtcha, Vidin, Nich, Pirot, Kustendil, Samokov, Veless, Plovdiv, Sliven. Further down in the same article we read: Besides these mentioned and named localities, should the orthodox inhabitants of other localities, all of them or at least two thirds of them demand, in the interest of their spiritual need, to be subjected to the Bulgarian Exarch, and this after inquiry and confirmation, satisfaction shall be given them. But should this, as is said here above, at the desire and consent of all or at least of two thirds, give occasion to any discord amongst the inhabitants, the guilty will be responsible and reprimanded „(Annexed is the Ferman). On the bases of this article of the Ferman a plebiscit was taken in the Scopie and Ochrida sees, which gave more than two thirds of the population as Bulgarian“. In 1874 these sees by the Sultan's „berats“ received their bishops. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Report of the International Commission to inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balcan Wars 1914. Washington. U. S. A). In the same manner received their bishops the sees of Nevrokop (1894), Pelagonia (Bitolia), Dibra and Strumitza (1897). The Veles see was amongst those mentioned in the Ferman. The reasons for the delay in issuing the „berats“ for these sees are the same for the not issuing of those for the sees of Melnik, Demir-Hissar, Seres, Poliana, Kostour, Vodena etc., they were due to the anti Bulgarian policy of the Turkish government, which followed the Russo-Turkish war, 1877—1878, from fear of the San-Stefano Bulgaria.

The principle part played by the Macedonians in the Bulgarian national wakening, and in the struggle for an independent Bulgarian church is not an accidental event: it is to be sought for in the deep national traditions, which have been preserved in this Bulgarian province, more than in any other part of the Bulgarian land, notwithstanding all the accidents of its historical destiny.

II

THE BULGARIAN CHARACTER OF MACEDONIA DURING
THE MIDDLE AGES

History informs us, that the Bulgarian state was formed in 679, when the horde of Isperich, after a victory over the Byzantine emperor, Constantine IV Pogonat, established itself in the North-Eastern part of Bulgaria. The living in common of the original Bulgarian Turanians with the Slav tribes in Dacia, before the latter permanently established themselves in the Balcan peninsula, on one hand, the common danger from Byzantium on the other brought closer to each other these two different races in the said Peninsula. And we actually see in the first half of the IX century, during the reign of Presiam (834—852), how the Slavs of Macedonia rise against Byzantium and enter into the composition of the Bulgarian state. So far we have a Bulgarian state, but not as yet a formal Bulgarian nation, such as the past has left to us. In the Bulgarian state live the original Isperich Bulgarians in common with the far more numerous Slavs, part of whom had already received christianity, particulatly those of Macedonia. Two races Bulgarian and Slav by origin, professing three religions—the heathen original Bulgarian, the heathen Slav, and the christian, are the elements on which the Bulgarian state was founded. Later, during Prince Boris's reign (852—888), with the reception of Christianity and the introduction of the Slav literature, are created all the favourable conditions for the formation of the Slavo-Bulgarian nation. The Macedonian Slavs contributed most to this: they were the first to receive Christianity, from their midst issued also the inventors of the Slavo-Bulgarian alfabet—the Saints Cyril and Methodius, two brothers, born in Salonica. The language in which were translated the oldest Slav books is the language of the Macedonian Bulgarians, in the Bulgarian idioms of Salonica and Kostour the characteristics of this language are still preserved. (Louis Leger, *Le monde Slav*, Paris 1873, p. XVII; Lavissee et Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, t. II, le ch. XII, *L'Europe Orientale* signé E. Denis, p. 711).

The students of the Saints Cyril and Methodius, the Saint Clement and Saint Naoum carried their apostolical work in Macedonia. Saint Clement made of Ochrida, at the end of the IX and in the beginnigg of the X centuries, the principle centre of enlightenment, whence the light spread throughtout the whole of the Bulgarian land. (A. d'Avril, *St. Cyrille et Méthode*, Paris 1885, p. 299).

When Eastern Bulgaria, during the second half of the X century, fell under the corrupted Bizantine influence, and later under its blows, it was Macedonia which raised high the standart of National independance, and King Samuel carried on a war of 38 years for the preservation of the entirety of the Bulgarian state. (G. Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine*, t. I, p. p. 606, 612, 615). Macedonian Bulgaria, writes Ramboud „was more warlike, more feudal with a stronger sentiment, more anti Greek than Bulgaria of which the great Preslav was the capital“. (B. Ramboud, *Etudes sur l'Histoire Byzantine* p. 289). Sofia, Maglen, Vodena, Prespa, Ochrida were the capitals in tutn of the Western Bulgarian kingdom (963—1018).

In 1018 the Bulgarian Western kingdom was conquered by the Byzantine emperor, who entitled himself, from the nationality of the population, Voulgaroktonos (the Bulgarian killer) but not the Serbian killer.

Ochrida was the chief residence of the established by king Samuil Bulgarian Patriarchate. Basil, the Bulgarian killer, by special decrees gave rights to the Patriarchate, and permitted it to exist under the name of the Bulgarian archiepiscopie (*Archiepiscopia Vlgarias*). It endured till 1767, when the intrigues of the Constantinople Patriarchate before the Turkish government put an end to it.

The first to rise against the Byzantine rule, in 1040, were the Macedonian Bulgarians under the leadership of king Samuil's grandson, Peter Delyan. The centre of the insurrection was the town of Scopie (G. Cedreni, *Historiarum Compendium*, II. p. 527, Ed. Romae).

In 1071 the Bulgarian nobles in Scopie with Georghi Vorigtah, rose again in insurrection against Byzantium. (G. Cedreni, *Hist. Compendium* II. p. 715—717). Neither of these insurrections had a lasting success.

The liberation of Bulgaria from the Byzantine yoke finally was obtained by the brothers Peter and Assen in 1185, who operated in northern Bulgaria. The first care of the second Bulgarian kingdom was to incorporate within its boundaries the Macedonian Bulgarians. In the reigns of the Bulgarian kings Kaloyan, Ivan Assen II, Kaliman I, and Michael Assen (1196—1257) the whole of Macedonia is included in the Bulgarian state.

It is true that Macedonia found itself for a certain time also under the Serbian rule, as also under that of Byzantium. Scopie, Dibra and Tetovo were under Serbian rule 73 years (1282—1355); Veless and Shtip 25 years (1330—1355); Prilep 21 years (1334—1355); Vodena, Stroumitza and Melnik 13 years (1342—1355); Seres 10 years (1345—1355). But the Bulgarian tradition with the Macedonians was so strong that they unfailingly preserved their nationality. Serbian influence manifested and expressed itself only in the reparation and the rebuilding of some monasteries. The Serbian kings entitled themselves as rulers also of Bulgaria. Stefan Milutin called himself: „Ourosh king of Rashka and Douklia, of Albania, of Bulgaria and of the sea coast from the Adriatic gulf even to the great river Danube“. (B. Makusheff, *Italian Archives*, annex to XIX vol, catalogue Ak. of Science № 4, St. Petersbourg 1871, p. 13). Stefan Doushan (1331—1355) entitled himself: By the Grace of God Stefan king of Serbia, Douklia, Zeta, Albania, the sea coast, possessor of not a small portion of the Bulgarian land, and Master of the Whole of South Roumania. („*Monumenta Slav Meridionalum* II, Zagrabiae, 1870, p. 278“); Stefan, Faithful in Christ, king of all the Serbians and the Greek and Bulgarian countries (St Novakovitch, codex of Stefan Doushan the Serbian, Belgrade 1898, p. 3); Stefan the Faithful in God Christ, King Autocrat of the Serbians and the Greeks and the Bulgarians (Miklosh, *Monumenta Serbica*, p. 124). It is known that the Serbian king never ruled other Bulgarian lands besides those in Macedonia. After the death of Doushan the Powerful, his state having been an artificial conglomerate, fell to pieces into its composing parts. The despot Oughlish siezed the South-Eastern Macedonia, while his brother king Voulkashin seized Western Macedonia. These rulers entitled themselves particularly as Bulgarian lords because they held lands inhabited

by Bulgarians. The Serbian writer Mihail from Ostrovitza, in his chronicle (1496—1501) says: „These were two brothers (Voukashin and Ouglish) ruling the Bulgarian kingdom“ (Glasnik XVIII, 75). The same Serbian writer in the year of 1371 writes: „When he was only three miles distant from Adrianople, these two brothers, who had seized Bulgarian country, in opposition to their own lord . . .“ (ibid 76).

The Albanian Ivan Musachi, who knew well the Macedono-Albanian countries and affairs, bears witness to the same in his memoirs of 1510, regarding king Valkashin, that he ruled over Bulgarian lands: „From this signor Todor was born signor Andrea Mosachi the second, who was Sevastokrator and fought with king Valkashin, who was king of Bulgaria“ (Giov. Musachi, *Historia della casa Musachia*. Compare Hopf. *Chroniques Greco-Romaines*, Paris 1873, p. 281).

After the death of Valkashin in 1371, his son Marco became sovereign king of Macedonia, from the Shar mountain to Kostour, with the towns of Scopie, Prilep, Bitolia, Kostour etc. Marko entitles himself King of Bulgaria; as such he is known by other writers of that time, or near about that time. The Byzantine writer of the XV century, Phrantzes, in his chronicle on Marko says: „Marko who still ruled over a part of Bulgaria . . .“ (Phrantzes chron. p. 54, Ed. Bonnae). The mentioned already Serbian Mihail from Ostrovitza, speaks of „Marko the Bulgarian Prince“ (Glasnik XVII, 80). The Albanian Ivan Musachi enumerates in his chronicle the Christian lords who had arrayed themselves against the Turks, thus: „The despot Lazar the Serbian, and Marko King of Bulgaria, and Todor Musachi the second, by descent from our race, and other lords from Albania, all united, came up to battle“. (Hopf. *Chroniques greco-romaines*, Paris, 1873, p. 273). Todor Spanduni Kantacusin (XV—XVI century) calls him also Bulgarian ruler . . . Marko Kralewitch Despot, that is to say lord of Bulgaria, called by the French „Burguer“. (Petit traité de l'origine des Turks, par Theodore Spandouni Cantacusin, Publié par Ch. Schefer, Paris 1896, p. 272). Kral Marko Passes for Bulgarian also in the national poetry of the Serbians as well as that of the Bulgarians.

Part of Macedonia was at a certain time (1557—1766) under Serbian church rule. During the year 1557 the Serbian Petchska Patriarchate was revived with the assistance of the renegade Bosniak (Bosnian) and Grand Vizir Mehmed Sokololou, who obtained the Sultan's berat confirming his own brother Makaria as Patriarch. Thanks to the Turkish authority the whole of northern Macedonia was included in this Serbian Patriarchate. During all the time it lasted the Serbian spiritual authority recognized that it ruled not only over the Serbians but also over the Bulgarians of northern Macedonia in Scopie, Koumanovo, Tetovo, Shtip, Kratovo, Samokov. This was acknowledged also by the rest of the Serbians. Thus it is written regarding the first Petchska Patriarch Makaria, in 1564: „Kir Makaria maintained the Serbian authority both over the Bulgarians and the sea coast countries“ (L. Stoyanovitch, *Old Serbian writings and inscriptions*, № 645). During the year 1580 the Patriarch Guerasim is spoken of as archbishop of Petchska and Patriarch of the Serbians and Bulgarians and the northern countries etc. Kir Guerasim (ibid № 751). In 1627 Paisyi is entitled „Patriarch of all the Serbians and Bulgarians“ (ibid, № 1202). The Patriarch Moisei signs himself in 1714: Moisei, by the Grace of God Archbishop of Petchska and of all the Serbians and Bulgarians, and the whole of Illyria. (Spomenik LI, 110).

See on the same subject L. Stoyanovitch, Old Serbian writings and inscriptions № 806, 843, 1749; Spomenik XXXVI, 93; LI, 106; XXXVIII, 73; Jastreboff, „Podatze za Istoriou“ of the Serbian church, Belgrad 1879, P. 70, and Gedeon Engrafa patriarhika ke synodika peri ton Voulgarikou zitimatos. En Constantinople 1908).

III

TESTIMONY FROM FOREIGN TRAVELLERS AND LEARNED MEN, DOWN TO 1878

It was necessary to give all the above facts, selected from amongst the very numerous ones, from the distant and recent past in order to bring out in relief the ethnographical reality of Macedonia. That from the VIII century to the present day the land of Macedonia is Bulgarian is proved by the following foreign, not Bulgarian, witnesses, unprejudiced by the Serbian and Greek chauvinistic literature with which later the world was inundated.

During the VIII century, when the Bulgarians of Ispereh established themselves in Moesia, an important part of a Bulgarian horde, mixed with other tribes, coming from Panonia, settled in the heart of Macedonia, in the Bitolia valley. They held under subjection the surrounding Slavs, later they mixed and were absorbed by them. This we learn from the supplements to the biography of St. Demetrius of Salonica, written by Greeks and in the Greek language. (see A. Fougard, *Dé l'Hisoire profane*, Paris 1874, p. 186—à90).

The archbishop Theofilact, by birth Greek, in his biography of Clement of Ochrida, written towards the end of the XI century, says of Sts. Cyril and Methodius: „Because the Slav race, that is the Bulgarian, did not understand the Greek books, these holy men looked upon the circumstance as upon a misfortune“. (§ 2). The same Theofilact, in the same work, speaking of the lands in which are settled Bulgarians as permanent inhabitants, says: „When this nation (the Avars) withdrew there came another one more lawless and cruel that called Bulgarians, from the Scythian boundaries, . . . , and because they subjected all the Illyrian country, the old Macedonia, even to the town of Salonica, and part of old Thrace, namely as far as Borony (Stara Zagora) I say also Plovdiv (Philippople), as also the mountain districts near them, they settled down as permanent inhabitants in these parts (Theofilacti Bulgariae arch. Historia Martiria XV martyrum, Patr. gr. t. CXXVI, col. 189).

Ioan Kameniat in his work on the taking of the town of his birth, Salonica, by the Arabs in 904, says of the Slav tribes the Dragovith and Sagudati, that they had abandoned the plain between Salonica and Ver and were in friendly relations with the Bulgarians, their immediate neighbours (Joannes Cameniata, *De excidio Tessalonicensi*. Bonnae, p. 485—496).

In 942, in the reign of Roman the Elder, Bulgarians settled near the fortress of Ieriso, to whom the government granted land belonging in part to the monastery Ivan Kolovou. Later, in 960, the government, in order to compensate the monastery for the lands taken away from it, presented it with 40 serfs, Bulgarians. In the imperial decree, on this subject, is said: 40 liberated from taxes serfs were given to the monastery Ivan Kolovou in exchange

for those small parcels of land, which had belonged in times past to the monastery in the plain of Jeriso,¹⁾ „These serfs are taken from the settled in these lands Sloveni-Bulgarians.“ (Izvestia Imperator. Archeol. Obshtestvo, V Kol. 17).

In 1040 the Norwegian leader Harold (Haroldus) helped the Byzantines with his mercenaries to put down an insurrection of the Bulgarians near Salonica, in Macedonia. In the Scandinavian songs, The Songs of Tiodolf, the leader Harold glorifies himself for his brutalities on the rebelled Bulgarian population, with the appellation „Destroyer by fire of the Bulgarians“. (Bolgar bremir) (V. Vasicevsky, Counsels and Relations of the Byzantine Noble XI century. St. Perersburg, 1881, p. 148).

All the Byzantine and western writers in the middle ages, such as Kecaumen, Nicolina, Nicéphore Bryenius, Anne Comnène, Archbishop Theophilactus, Jean Skilitza, Nicita Honiat, Georgas Kedrine, Zohara, Dimitri Homatian, Goldphil Melatera, Raymond d'Agil, Robert le Moine, Pierre Toudebolde, Guillaume de Tir and others, who travelled in Macedonia, describe it as a Bulgarian country, and call its population Bulgarian (Cecaumeni Strategicon, editerunt Wassiliewsky et Jernstedt. Petropoli 1896, p. 69—70; Cedreni Hist. compedium II Ed. Bonnae, p. p. 527, 715—717; Roberti monachi S. Remigii in diaccesi Remensi historia Hierosolymitana, lib. II, cap. II; Guillemni Tyrensis, Historia rerum in patribus transmarinis gestarum, lib. II, cap. III, IV, XV, XXVII, LXV, XLI Ed. Meursio; Nicetae choniatae Historia. Ed. Bonnae, p. 612—613. (G. Acropolita p. 125; Nic. Gregorae. Hist. Byzantinae Ed. Bonnae, I. p. 375—379).

Even after the Turkish conquest Macedonia did not loose its own ethnographical character. Of this the Turks themselves are witnesses, as also the western travellers.

One of the most conscientious Turkish historians of the XVII century, Hadji Séadedin, in his well known work „The Crown of Histories“, speaking of the advance of the Turks in Macedonia, in 1371, categorically points out that northern Macedonia was ruled by Constantin, with the mines of Kratovo included, and that it was a Bulgarian country: „It is true that the Kustendil ruler, known by the name of Constantin, and famed by the possession of broad lands and master of feudal lords, was the supreme ruler of the Bulgarian province and possessed the lands in which are found the mines „Tala and Nakra“. The same is confirmed by the Turkish historian Ramasan Zade in his manuscript „General and Turkish History“, written in 1638.

The well known Turkish historian and geographer Hadji Kalfa, born in Constantinople, wrote his work during the second half of the XVII century. He died in 1655. We give the following extracts from his geographical work „Roumelia and Bosnia“, concerning the population of Macedonia:

„HRUPISHTA, on the shores of the Kostour lake, 2 hours from Kostour. In the neighborhood lie (the cazas) Kostour, Bilishtaya, Naselitza, the inhabitants are BULGARIANS“.

„BILISHTA is the residence of a judge, 17 days of journey from Constantinople. In the neighborhood lie Kostour, Goritza (Kortcha), Prespa, Hroupishta. The inhabitants are Bulgarian and Albanian“.

¹⁾ Jeriso is a neck of land which joins mount Athos to the Chalchidica penineula.

„BITOLIA (Toli, Monastir) is between Lerin, Prilep, Prespa and Ochrida. From Constantinople to this place one arrives through Salonica, Vardar and Vodena in 15 days. The inhabitants are Bulgarian“.

„OCHRIDA, south-west from Scopie, 16 days of journey from Constantinople, on the eastern side of the lake, borders with Prespa, Starevo, Kartchevo. The inhabitants are Bulgarian. (Hadji Chalfa, Rumeli und Bosna, Wien 1812“. Translation by Hamera, p. 98, 97, 140).

In 1591, the Venetian ambassador Lorenzo Bernardo, travelled to Constantinople through Macedonia. From his chronicle P. Metakovitch has published extracts in Rad. CXXXVI, p. 15. From Albania Bernardo reached Struga, and speaks of it as follows“. They say that Struga is a town, in fact it is a mere village; it is the first in order a Bulgarian settlement . . . a little further at the commencement of the Struga lake a bridge is crossed which is on the boundary between Albania and Bulgaria“.

In the XVI century the catholic propaganda possessed a bishop in Scopie. This propaganda placed Scopie in Bulgaria. In a document, now in the Vienna State Archives, from 1659, we read: „In the town of Scopie, a Bulgarian town, the archbishop is monseigneur Andrea“. (Staatsarch. Bulgarian, I. f. 184—187, comp. Staatsarch. Bulgaria, II, f. 259—280).

Jacques de Lavardin, Seigneur du Plissis-Bourrot, in the „Histoire de Georges Castriot surnommé Scanderberg, roy d'Albanie, Paris, 1621, writes: „Pologue which is part of Macedonia and Bulgaria, p. 1—2. „(Pologue is in the Tetovo plain). On p. 19. „La haute Dibra est assise au confins des Tribolles (Peuples de Moesie plus occidentaux): Les Bulgariens leur succèdent“ (p. 185).

In the description of the Turkish provinces and their christian peoples, and especially of the Serbian people, prepared in 1771, by the Serbian Patriarch Varilyi-Berkitch, in collaboration with I. Pouvaratz is said, that in Seres live Turks, Greeks and Bulgarians, but the Bulgarians being more numerous than the Turks, all the Turks in Macedonia speak Bulgarian. As regards Ochrida and the country round it, it is said, that there the Bulgarian and Vlach populations predominate. (Spomenik, X. Belgrads, 1891, p. 47 and 50). In the description of the Turkish Empire, written by the Russian prisoner in Turkey, during the second half of the XVII century, (edited by P. A. Sirkou, the Palistine magazine, T. H. St. Petersburg 1890), we find observations regarding „all the population of some of the Macedonian towns“. It says of Scopie, that „all the peasants in Scopie and the districts, on three sides, are Bulgarians“. (p. 38).

In the chronicle of the Serbian writer Ierotei Ratchanin, who travelled to Jerusalem in 1704, we read: „And we arrived on the fourteenth journey in Vefess, a Bulgarian town, called by the Turks Tuprulia (Glasnik XXI, 299).

That Macedonia belongs to the Bulgarian lands the following maps show: the map of Augusto Gottlieb. Boehmio, Nürimbergae cura Humanianorum Heredum, 1766; that of C. Schütz: Krigstheater oder Graenzkarte Oesterreich, Rusland und der Türkei . . . 1788; F. L. Gussfeld: Général charte von Ungarn nebst den angrenzenden Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches, 1896; L'Europe divisée en ses Etats, Empires, Royaumes et Républiques, par le S. Robert de Vaugondy, Géographe ordinaire du Roy. 1767; etc. etc.

During the XIX century when the national principle, after the Great French revolution, was being affirmed more and more in the fixing of international relations, all the travellers who visited Macedonia found that the inhabitants of it were principally Bulgarian.

Pouqueville, French consul to Ali Pasha of Janina, in his book „Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople, en Albanie pendant les années 1798, 1799, 1800 et 1801, Paris 1805, vol. III, p. 241, says: Le mont Prisrendi (Shar Planina) semble la limite naturelle de la Bulgarie, de la Serbie et de l'Illyrie“. The population of Kriva Palanka, near Kostour, is for him undoubtedly Bulgarian (ibid p. 249, et Voyage dans la Grèce, Paris, 1820, V. III, p. 364).

David Urquhart, an English diplomat (1805—1877), in his book Turkey and its Resources, London 1833, writes: Mahomedanized Bulgarians occupy the mountains, and isolated parts of the country. Those who have preserved their religion inhabit the plains of Macedonia, Epirus, Bulgaria and Thrace, all around Bitolia, Salonica, Janina, Nish, Sofia, Plovdiv, Andrianople and even Constantinople, they are consequently exposed to a tyrannical authority, to a merciless oppression (La Turquie, ses Ressources, son organisation municipale, Paris, 1836, T.I. p. 77—78).

Ami Boué, geologist, who travelled all over Europe, had especially studied European Turkey, fixes as follows the lands inhabited by Bulgarians: „The Bulgarians, Bulgar in the local speech, occupy Bulgaria, Lower Moesia, and the greater part of Upper Moesia while they form the bulk of the population in Macedonia, with the exception of the most south-western part of Kostour and Hindje-Karasou (Bistriza). The mountains between the valleys of Lerin and Kostour, between Kailiari and Satishta, between Ostrovo and Ver, and between Vodena and Negust delimit the territory in which Bulgarian alone is spoken from the territory to the south, where Greek is the language of the inhabitants . . . „The total number of the Bulgarians in European Turkey should be 4,150,000 (Ami Boué, La Turquie d'Europe, Paris 1840, T. II, p. 5—32).

The Belgian geologist Jean Baptiste Julien d'Amalieu d'Hallo (1783—1875) in his book — „Les races humaines ou éléments d'ethnographie“. Paris, 1845, affirms that „the Bulgarians are almost the sole inhabitants of Bulgaria, they spread into Thrace and Macedonia“. (p. 54—55).

Cyprien Robert, French author, professor of the Slav languages and literature in the College de France, in his work. — „Les Slaves de Turquie“, Paris 1852, speaking of Bulgaria says, that nature herself had divided it into five parts or six separate regions. Of the last region he says: „Finally regarding Macedonian Bulgaria, which has for its capital Seres, and reaches the gulf Kontessa and Mount Athos. In this manner Bulgaria debouches on two seas: it receives through Varna products from Asia and Russia, and can send to them her own; through Seres and Salonica it reaches Greece and all the ports of south Europe“. (V. II, p. 223).

Jean Henri — Abdolonyme Ubicini, French historian and author (1818—1884) who travelled in Turkey writes: „Amongst the Slav nations, directly subjected to the Porte, the Bulgarians hold the first place. Divided into two parts by the Balcans, they reach the Black Sea and the Thracian seas, through Bourgas and Salonica, and extend to Albania and Serbia,

and along the Danube to the north of Feti-Islam to Silistra". (Lettres sur la Turquie, Paris 1853—1854, deuxième partie, p. 175).

Xavier Heuschling, Belgian economist and statistician (1802—1883) in his book — „L'Empire de Turquie", Bruxelles, 1860, writes — „The Bulgarians inhabit the country which bears their name, the greater part of Roumelia and Macedonia, many districts of Thessaly, Albania and Serbia. The Bulgarian race may be numbered at 4,500,000 souls, two and a quarter millions of which are in Bulgaria proper; 80,000 Bulgarians live in neighboring countries belonging to Russia" (p. 60).

Dr. Royet, who lived 23 years in Turkey, and travelled in European Turkey, affirms: „Bulgaria is not solely the country limited on one side by the Danube, and on the other by the Balcans. Bulgaria is also Thrace and Macedonia, in other words $\frac{4}{5}$ of Roumelia has one people with its own language, and customs which resist energetically all attempts to unite it to any other people". (La Bulgarie dans le présent et l'avenir, Paris 1860).

Guillaume Lejean (1828—1871), French geographer, fixes thus the boundaries of the Bulgarian nation:

„To-day this race is approximately limited by the Danube, the Timok, and a line passing through Nish, Prisrend, Ochrida, Kostour, Salonica, Andrinople, and Sozoppoli, Black Sea, Bourgas, Sliven, Razgrad. Out of this periphery exist advance posts or remnants of the Bulgarian race amongst the Albanians, Vlachs, Greeks, in Bessarabia and even in Asia". (Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe, Gotha 1861, p. 28).

Franz Bradaschka, former professor in Zagreb, writes: „The Bulgarians are spread over an extent of land which stretches from the Danube to the White Sea (Aegean), and from some parts of the Black Sea to Albania" . . . (Bradachka, Les Bulgares, par A. B. I. Le Globe, Journal Géographique, Genève, 1870, I, IX; 3-ème livraison, p. 119).

The English philanthropists the Misses Mackenzie and Irby, who travelled in 1863 in macedonian and other lands, in their book, comprising an ethnographical map, give a valuable contribution regarding the population of European Turkey. The great Gladstone is enthusiastic on their work. Here are some extracts from this book: „We already said that Salonica is geographically Bulgarian; in other words, it is one of the ports of the country, with a Slavic speaking population, which stretches from the Aegean to the Danube. Indeed, Salonica itself is a point on the ethnographical boundary which, in this part of Turkey in Europe, divides the Slavonic population from the Greek. To a certain extent this frontier coincides with the line of the old Roman road between Salonica and the lake of Ochrida; nevertheless some miles of country inhabited by Bulgarians stretch south of the Via Egnatia" „Southern Bulgaria, away to the frontier of old Greece"

As regards Enidje Vardar: „There are 6,000 houses, one half are Turkish, the other half Bulgarian". As regards Bitolia it is pointed out that there live Bulgarians and Vlachs. As regards Ochrida and the surrounding country the nature of the information is the same. As regard Prilep it is clearly stated: „The population of the town of Prilep and its district is Bulgarian". As regards Veless we read: „Veless is thoroughly a Bulgarian town". As regards the population of Scopie the travellers relate: „In the north-east of the plain, in

which is situated Scopie, rises a low mountain district, called by the Turks Karadag or Black Mountain, by the Slavs, it is called the „Bulgarian Black Mountain country“. „The gendarmes told us that these mountains were inhabited by Albanians and Bulgarians“. (G. M. Mackenzie and A. P. Irby. Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe, London, 1867, p. 18—19, 37, 73, 74, 83, 110, 138).

This work of the Misses Mackenzie and Irby has been translated in several European languages. The Serbian minister in London, Tcheda Myatovitch, translated it into Serbian, and published it in Belgrade, 1868. Similar evidence that Macedonia is inhabited principally by Bulgarians is given in their works by other European writers:

Auguste Viquesnel (1800—1867) in his book — „Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe“, Paris, 1868, t. I, p. 397; Henry Fanshawe Tozer, — „Researches in the Highlands of Turkey“, London 1869, I v. p. 176, 167, 186, 199 etc.; — „Reise durch des innere der europäischen Türkei im Herbst“, 1862, von Henrich Barth, Berlin 1864, p. 109, 110, 113, 137 etc.; J. C. V. Hahn — „Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik“, Wien, 1861; — „Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar internomen im Jahre 1863“, Wien 1867; V. Grigorovitch — „Description of Travels in European Turkey“, 2nd edition Moscow 1877; A. Giffard — „A Ride through Herzegovina, Bosnia and old Serbia“, in the Collection of writings, III St. Petersburg 1873; Synvet, teacher of Geography in the Imperial College of Galata Sarai, in Constantinople — „Traité de Géographie Générale de l'Empire Ottomane“, Constantinople 1875; Dozon — „Chansons populaires Bulgares“, Paris 1875; Bianchi — „La Question d'Orient dévoilée“, Paris 1876; Leroy Beaulieu — „Les reformes de la Turquie“, Paris 1876; Marmier — „Nouveaux récits de voyages“, Paris 1879; Reclus (Jacques Ilisé), — „Nouvelle Géographie Universelle“, Paris 1879 and others.

According to the maps of Shafarik (Slav countries in the Slavansky narodopis, Praha 1842), and in that of Kipert (Ethnografische Übersicht des europäischen Orients zusammengestellt von Berlin, in Mai 1876) Macedonia is included in the Bulgarian ethnographical province. Not only the European travellers but also the Serbian and Greek admitted until recently, before they had formed plans for the possession of Macedonia, the Bulgarian character of this province.

IV

SERBIAN AND GREEK TESTIMONY REGARDING MACEDONIA IN RECENT TIMES

Before the church question was raised between the Greeks and Bulgarians, the Greek Patriarchate, under whose spiritual rule the Bulgarian lands were subjected, had preserved for the Bulgarian population in the corresponding sees certain historical memories. Thus we possess an official catalogue of the Constantinople Patriarchate of the Metropolitan bishops' thrones which were subjected to it in 1855, included in the magazine of Ralli and Potli-Sintagmaton Teon ke ieron Kanon V. According to this catalo-

gue the Kostour metropolitan bishop is entitled: „Metropolitan of Kostour, most honourable Exarch of the whole of Old Bulgaria. The Metropolitan of Ochrida-Prespa See, after the suppression of the Ochrida Bulgarian Archiepiscopacy, is repeatedly entitled: The Most Holy, elected by God Metropolitan of the holy see of Ochrida and Prespa, Most Honourable and Exarch of the whole of Bulgaria. This was before 1845. During 1856—1857 was issued the two volume book-Historical-Geographical, for Epyrus and the neighbouring lands, by P. Aravantinos.

Aravantinos fixes the frontiers of Macedonia thus: „The Rodope Mountains on the Thracian side, Shar Mountain on the side of Bulgaria and Serbia, Olympus and Hasof (Kambounitza Mountain) on the side of Thessaly, the spreading mountains Akrokeron and Pindus on the side of Epyrus (11.102). In the list he gives of the Macedonia towns, he mentions sometimes the nationality of their inhabitants. Here are some instances:

„PELAGONIA. An old town and province of Macedonia. In Pelagonia is situated the new town of Bitolia, called also Monastir, inhabited by 20.000 souls... Its christian inhabitants speak principally Bilgarian“. (11.127)

„TIKVESH. Tówn and see in Macedonia. The town and see are inhabited by Bulgarians and are under the authority of the holy Veless Metropolitan“. (11.165).

„PRILEP, or as commonly called Pérlepé, is a town in Macedonia, it is often mentioned in Bulgarian history. At present its population consist of 1200 families, mahomedan and christian; the last are of Bulgarian race, and one part are Vlachs“ (11.137).

„NEGUSH, new town in Macedonia, with a population of 2000 christian families of Bulgarian race, under the adminisrrative authority of Salonica“ (11.116).

In a list of the Macedonian districts, district towns, church jurisdictions, with the indication of the nationality of the population, we meet with Bulgarians in the districts of Bitolia, Prilep, Veless, Tikvish, Lerin, Serfidje, Prespa, Ochrida (11.400—402).

The Serbians up till the seventies of the XIX century, especially down to the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, likewise recognized and affirmed that Macedonia was inhabited by Bulgarians.

The Serbian historian Dimitri Davidovitch in his book: „Deyania k istoria srapskogo naroda“, gives a list of the lands inhabited by Serbians, with no mention of Macedonia, which it excluded from the boundaries of these lands. „The boundaries of the lands in which the Serbians live to-day are these: on the east the Bulgarian; on the south Macedonia and in part the Adriatic sea; on the west the Adriatic sea; on the north the Hungarian“. The same author published a map.

In a letter № 194, of the 14/26 November 1822, sent to captain Vouk Karadjitch, he says, that besides Kratovo in the environs of the river Lim and Sienitza there is also a Bulgarian Kratovo in Macedonia (Voukova prepiska, first book, state edition, Belgrade 1907, p. 348).

The Serbian historian Vidakovitch places the southern boundary of Serbia at the Shar Mountain and Macedonia: „The boundaries of Serbia are the following: on the north along the Danube, on the south the Skard Mountain (Shar) and Macedonia (History of the Slav-Serbian Nation, from various authors etc... Belgrade, 1833, § 5, p. 31).

The Serbian newspaper „The Serbian National News“, № 27, 6 th April 1844, speaking of the part the Bulgarians took in the war of the faith (The Greek war of independence) clearly recognizes Macedonia as inhabited by Bulgarians:

„In 1821, after the Greek rise, suddenly there appeared in Macedonia many Bulgarian haydouks (revolutionaries) and penetrated to the Peloponissus“. Regarding the later insurrection, in 1841, it says: „The death of Sultan Mahomed and the prophecy, which spread in Turkey in the year of 1840, there broke out a great revolutionary movement in Bulgaria Roumelia and Macedonia, in short wherever the Bulgarians lived“.

In the work on Bulgarian and Serbian Chronicles, for the Year 1845, part IV, published by Matitza Šrabska, edited by Dr. Subotitch, Buda, 1845 (p. 58) we read: „The mentioned settlements of the peoples indicate the geographical Bulgarian boundaries: of Thrace, Macedonia and Albania, three countries which, at present, by the power of God, the Bulgarians inhabit; especially in Macedonia this race forms the bulk of the population. If we turn towards eastern Albania we will there find two districts whose population is entirely Bulgarian, and the language of the inhabitants Bulgarian. Bulgaria has four Metropolitan Sees or Archiepiscopacies: Tirnovo, Sofia, Silistra and Varna, and 16 bishoprics, the best known of which are: Plovdiv, Kustendil, Seres, Vereia, Lovitch, Samokov, Kostour, Kuprili (Veless), Scopie; the Ochrida and Vidin are separated by the Porte“ (p. 75).

„In Salonica there are so many Bulgarians, that this town may be called as much Bulgarian as Greek“ (p. 59).

„The Serbian News“, Belgrade 1860, № I, writes: „... The position of the Bulgarian church. We see that in the seventh century, in European Turkey, the Orthodox church was divided hierarchically into three independent hierarchies: the Constantinople or the Greek, the Ochrida or Bulgarian and the Ipek or Serbian“.

„In Bulgaria, Thrace and Macedonia, which provinces are inhabited entirely by Bulgarians, the people desires to avoid troubles with the Turks, it directs all its efforts against the Fanariots, and raises its voice for freedom of church, to throw off the oppressive Fanariot yoke“. (№ 3, p. 12).

Janko Šafarik, as director of the Belgrade museum, recommends to the Serbian government in 1846, „that a competent person be sent into Old Serbia, Macedonia and Albania, and there, at the expense of the Serbian Government, buy and copy old manuscripts“ (Rad. rid. akademi XLII, 203). The Serbian government sent St. Verkovich. In 1860, after ten years of researches in Macedonia, this Serbian agent Verkovich published in Belgrade, with the assistance of the Serbian authorities and at their expense, the Magazine of Bulgarian National Songs, collected mostly in south Macedonia, in Seres and other places. The magazine bears the following superscription: *Norodni Pesme Makedonsky Bougara* (National Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians) ... Stefan I. Verkovich, book first; „Women's songs“. Belgrade, the Government's press, 1860“.

The same Verkovich, in the preface of this magazine, also in his article — „Description of the life of the Macedonians“. Moscow 1868, finds that the whole of Macedonia is inhabited by Bulgarians. Verkovich brings out even more prominently the boundaries of the

Bulgarian people in Macedonia in his work: *A topographical and Ethnographical Description of Macedonia*, by S. I. Verkovitch — St. Petersburg 1889.

Similar recognitions that Macedonia is Bulgarian we find in:

1) „General Geography for the Teaching of the Youth in the Full and Half Gymnasiums in the Principality of Serbia, according to the newest geographers“ by Milan Myatovitch, Gymnasium professor. Examined and approved by the commission for schools. Belgrade, 1852. The author places the towns: Salonica, Voden, Drama, Filipo, Seres, Scopie, Bitolia, Enidje-Vardar as belonging to the population not considered as Serbian in Macedonia, p. 58.

2) „Srebsky Dnevnik“, Novi-Sad 1858, 8 th July № 44; 22nd May 1860, № 40, p. 3, 12 th July 1860, № 46; 26 July 1860, № 50; 3 July 1860, № 52; 28 July, 1860 № 59.

3) „Serbsky Novini“, Belgrade, 25 Jan. 1862, № 11;

4) „Vidov Dan“, Belgrade, 29 March 1862, № 38;

5) „Little Geography, Serbia and Turkey“. Examined and approved by the Commission for Schools. Belgrade 1863. Jovan Gavrilovitch: In Macedonia are placed the towns of Salonica, Bitolia, Seres, Veless, Scopie, Prilep and Kostour. The inhabitants of Macedonia, are, according to him, mainly Bulgarian. Serbians are not mentioned.

6) „Napredak“. Novi-Sad, 21 Febr, 1865, № 15, etc., etc., etc.

V

INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC ACTS

It is on the bases of such undoubted facts, regarding the boundaries of the Bulgarian people, that the Great Powers in the Constantinople Conference, during the month of Dec. 1876, fixed the limits of the Bulgarian autonomous provinces. By the decision of the said Conference Bulgaria was divided into two vilayets. In the Eastern vilayet, with Tirnovo for capital, entered the sandjaks: Rousttchouk, Tirnovo, Varna, Sliven, Plovdiv (without Sulran-Yeri and Aha-Tchalebi), and the casas Lozengrad, Mustafa-Pacha and Kazil-Agatch; in the Western vilayet, with Sofia for capital, entered the sandjaks: Sofia, Vidin, Nish, Scopie, Bitolia (without the two southern casas), the three northern casas of the Seres sandjak, and the casas of Strumitza, Tikvesh, Veless and Kostour.

From the protocols of the Constantinople Conference is evident:

1) That Bulgaria is divided into two provinces, because the extent of the territory, and the number of its inhabitants were too great for the formation of one province only, a diplomatic consideration;

2) That the province of Bulgaria did not include the entire Bulgarian population in European Turkey, as Lord Salisbury expressed himself, but only those of its parts where it formed an absolute majority, again on diplomatic considerations; that Bulgaria should not be too big, and that by such lopping off the Greeks and Turks may receive some satisfaction;

3) That the ambassadors of the Great Powers endeavoured to make a compromise between the ethnographical principle and the desire to give satisfaction to the population which suffered subsequent to the April insurrection;

4) That the principal objection of the Turks to this project was, that it tended to divide the Empire into nationalities, a condition opposed to the constitution of Turkey.

Another international act by which in a similar manner are recognized, sufficiently in full, the boundaries of the Bulgarian people, is the San-Stefano Treaty, concluded between Russia and Turkey on the 19-th of February (4-th March) 1878, in San-Stefano. These boundaries place the whole of Macedonia, from the Shar Mountain to Gramos, and from Gramos to the White Sea (Aegean) and Porto-Lagos, in Bulgaria, they are detailed in article 6 of the said treaty, thus:

„Bulgaria is constituted as an independant Principality, tributary, with a christian government and national army. The final frontiers of the Bulgarian Principality will be fixed by a special Turco-Russian Commission, before the evacuation of Roumelia by the imperial Russian army The extent of the Bulgarian Principality is indicated roughly, in the here annexed map, which will serve as bases for the definite fixing of the frontiers. Leaving the new Serbian frontier at the casa of Vrania to the Chain of Tchern-Gora (Scopie), it turns to the west, the line will follow along the western boundaries of the casas of Koumanovo, Katchanik, Tetovo up to the Mountain Korab; from here along the river Veleshitza to its confluence with the Tcherni Drin. Continuing to the south of the Drin, and thence along the western boundary of the casa of Ochrida towards the Mountain Lin, the frontier runs along the western boundaries of the casas Kortcha and Staro up to the Mountain Gramos. After this across the Kostour lake the frontier line runs to the river Maglenitza and along it will pass to the south of Enidjé-Vardar, and from the mouth of the Vardar, and along the river Golik will go up to the villages of Parog and Saraikeui; from thence across the middle of the lake Beshik to the mouth of the river Strouma and Mesta, and along the sea coast to Borughiol“.

Documents diplomatiques-Affaires d'Orient. Congrès de Berlin 1878, Paris MDCCCLXXVIII, p. 24.

The boundaries of the Bulgarian people are fixed even better in Prince Tcherkaski's project. For the preparation of this project Prince Tcherkaski consulted largely the literature on the subject, and men conversant with Turkey. In a report to the Russian war minister in Ploechti, on the future organization of the Bulgarian Principality and its frontiers, he says: „The greater part of the eastern half of the Balcan peninsular must constitute the Bulgarian Principality. The lands which will not be included in the principality to be united to the Greek kingdom“.

„The frontiers of Bulgaria should be: To the west along the line already approved of; to the south from the mountain Pinde to the river Bistritz and the Salonica gulf; across the gulf and the Salonica peninsula (Chalchide) to the Aegean sea (the town of Salonica and the lake of Beshik go to Bulgaria), further along the sea coast towards the mouth of the Maritza, up the river to the confluence with it of the river Erkene, along Erkene and

along the Tchorlou Déré to the Strandja Mountain, along the watershed of this mountain to the wall of Athanasius or the Constantinople territory; to the east along the coast of the Black sea; to the north along the Danube“.

The fixing of the frontiers thus, which coincided very nearly to the historical, ethnographical and church limits of the two competitor nationalities, had in view: to secure the necessary economical conditions of an independent existence for the Bulgarian Principality; to place an early barrier to the development of dangerous Greek pretentions, and to divide off these two nationalities so that they should impede each other as least as possible. (Major General H. R. Ovsianyi. The Russian rule in Bulgaria 1877—1879. St. Petersburg 1906, vol. I. p. 175 and 176).

VI

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION AFTER THE BERLIN TREATY

What the San-Stefan treaty created, establishing the real political boundaries of the Bulgarian race, marked out by the long and strenuous educational religious struggle, the Great Powers annulled by the revision of the treaty at the Berlin Congress, 13th June, 1878. To secure its own interests and from fear of Bulgaria becoming great and a Russian tool, European diplomacy, ignored the national principle, and lacked Christian love for the suffering, and accomplished a great injustice, and in contradiction to its earlier decision in the Constantinople Conference, it modified the already imposed upon Turkey San-Stefano Treaty, and tore to pieces the new born state. A tributary principality was created, and an autonomous province was formed from part of Bulgarian Thrace; Dobrudja was delivered over to Roumania, the Morava country to Serbia, while Macedonia, with a promise of certain rights and a new law for the vilayets, which never were to be realized, was left for the future under the oppressive and cruel Turkish regime. This condition of things gave rise later to the national Bulgarian problem—the liberation and the reunion of the whole of the Bulgarian race, and consequently to the Macedonian Question.

The disappointment of the Macedonian Bulgarians at the injustice done to Macedonia by the Berlin Congress, was so great and torturing, that they, although unprepared to support their rights by arms, gave a strong expression to their indignation and despair against the evil destiny apportioned to them. A revolutionary movement spread throughout Macedonia. Revolutionary organizations arose in many parts of Macedonia, in some places general insurrections. Thus in the valley of the Struma an insurrection broke out, known by the name of the Kresna insurrection with the bishop Nathaniel at its head, native of Scopie, 1878. An insurrection broke out likewise in the Razlog district, on the 8th Nov. of the same year, known by the name of the Razlog insurrection. The cruelties of the Turks in putting down the insurrections drove out some 10,000 people, refugees into Bulgaria. The revolutionary movement was especially strong in the Prilep and Ochrida districts. The preparations for revolutionary work had been insufficient, and the movement soon spent itself.

Years of black slavery followed. The Bulgarian population in Macedonia suffered under an intolerable tyrannical regime, but it was not possible to attempt armed opposition during the first few years. There was above all a necessity for the moral and cultural development of the population. The church and schools did their work admirably, notwithstanding the opposition of the Turkish authorities. The whole country was covered with schools, in which the Macedonian Bulgarians received education in their own native language. During this preparatory period for the coming insurrectionary movement, the Bulgarian people of Macedonia, by the greatest and most laudable efforts attained a high standard of culture. The following table gives a clear idea of the feverish activity in the direction of enlightenment, demonstrated by the increase of Bulgarian schools from 1886 to 1910. (see „Vesti“, Constantinople, 22 May 1910.

Vilayets	School years						
	1886—87	1891—92	1896—97	1899—900	1907—08	1908—09	1909—10
Bitolia	120	174	234	273	248	248	370
Scopie	96	105	184	190	192	239	242
Salonica	137	199	278	318	362	454	487

Even a greater progress is evident in respect of the number of scholars who attended these schools. Here are some statistical details for the same years.

Bitolia	6917	7821	9262	9665	18902	24302
Scopie	4709	5023	7113	6593	12993	14334
Salonica	6689	8226	9413	9836	22402	25732

Statistics show that in the year 1911—1912 there were in Macedonia, with the Ochrida district included, 1373 Bulgarian schools, of which 13 were Gymnasiums (colleges), 87 halfgymnasiums, and 1273 primaries. These schools were attended by 78,854 boys and girls, as follows: 2,191 for the gymnasiums, 4,309 for the half gymnasiums, 72,354 for the primaries. The teaching staff numbered 2,266 teachers, 148 of whom for the gymnasiums, 238 for the half gymnasiums and 1,880 for the primary schools. In the year of 1908—909, 1,755 of the teachers' staff were native of Macedonia, 15 native of Bulgaria and only 4 foreigners. During the same year in the Adrianople and Macedonia provinces there were seven Bulgarian prelates, 1,310 priests, 1,331 churches, 294 chapels and 73 monasteries. Besides the schools and churches, the Bulgarians in Macedonia possessed in nearly all the towns, and the larger villages well ordered libraries and reading rooms, which were in reality schools for the

grown up. In these were opened Sunday schools for the illeterate, and lectures and instructive entertainments were given in them. In Bitolia, Scopie, Salonica, Doiran, Velles, Kukush, Ochrida, Guevgueli etc. there were women's benevolent societies, which were very active. In Salonica two Bulgarian printing presses were in operation.

The Bulgarian educated class in Macedonia failed to find sufficient application for its energies in its own country. Being the most promising part of the population, it was exposed to greater persecution on the part of the authorities. The greater part of this class habitually went abroad, either to seek for better conditions of life or to complete its studies, principally in Bulgaria, where it felt itself at home, as in its own native country. This class however does not cease to think of the land of its birth and the sufferings of its relatives. A great part of it settles in Bulgaria to exercise a powerful influence on the Bulgarian public and its political thought, as also in general on the direction of Bulgarian policy. Another part returns to the land of its birth with a clear understanding and a determined will to work for the national cause. An important part of the Macedonians who remain in Bulgaria, become teachers in the Gymnasiums and professors in the university of Sofia. Some of these professors of the university have been received members in many foreign Academies and Societies for their scientific work. Others have entered in the diplomatic career, have become lawyers, doctors, judges, artists, engeneers, architects, chemists and authors. The last have in their hands the best part of the Bulgarian news-papers and periodicals.

Parallel with this cultural progress of the Macedonian Bulgarian grew his national self-consciousness, thus it became more difficult for him to bear up with the horrors of the Turkish regime. The economical conditions of life became worse; and uncertain as to the honour and fate of his family, he resolutely took up the task, full of dangerous experiences, and demanding great and heavy bloody sacrifices, and threw himself into the revolutionary struggle, in which he has manifested the greatest, tenacity and constancy of the Bulgarian race, and a great combative spirit. The organized revolutionary struggle of the Macedonian Bulgarians commenced in 1893. Now The efforts surpass all preceding such on the part of the Bulgarian people against Turkish oppression. The most important manifestation of this struggle was the rise on the day of St. Elya in 1903. The Internal Revolutionary Organization fully understood the great difficulties which presented themselves against the liberation of Macedonia. It was a question of the overpowering of an empire. The Organization appreciated also the important interests the Great Powers had engaged in the Near East, and the endeavours they would make to preserve, at all cost, the existing state of things. Besides, the Organization was incapable of entertaining the illusion that it would ever succeed to overcome the power of Turkey, and to impose its demands. It understood perfectly well that the Great Powers would have the last word on the subject. This is the reason why, although the final object in view of the revolutionary movement in Macedonia could not be other than the union of this province to the already liberated Bulgarian lands, the internal Organization left this object to be understood, and which was supported by the engagements taken and promised rights given by Europe in the Berlin-Treaty itself, namely: Autonomy for Macedonia.

To secure this the Organization prepared a general revolutionary movement, to absorb into its ranks all capable of being useful in the struggle. It was necessary also that all its members should be fully ready and apt for the work; that the revolutionary body should be instructed, that its self-conscience should be elevated, to instill in it a high ideal for combat, and finally to be taught the use of arms, and to be supplied with them and war material. The Organization was bound to preserve its character of „internal“, that is to say, its active committees, its means and its leading bodies to be in Macedonia itself. Conditions being such, it was not possible to look upon it as upon an artificially created public force, neither as upon an instrument of a foreign body.

In order to meet the many needs of the oppressed local population, the Organization, from the very beginning took upon itself the active great task, such as: the destruction of the Turkish and Albanian brigands; the putting a stop to the abuses on the part of the bey land owners; the limitation of the injustices of the Turkish courts, by substituting to the latter those of the revolutionary committees. It also undertook the task of improving public morals and customs, as also the spread of useful and practical knowledge. A member of the Organization could be any one living in Turkey, independently of sex, faith or nationality. Every member of the Organization belonged to a revolutionary group, usually of ten souls; he knew and was in relation with the revolutionary work only through his comrades of the group and its immediate chief. Several of these groups composed the local rural or town Organization. At the head of every local Organization stands a committee: rural, town, district and provincial. At the head of these committees stands a central committee. The residence of this committee is „everywhere“ and „nowhere“. For the outside world the Organization was represented by a representative body, consisting of two men. The Organization had its secret ways and means for communication; it had hectographed news-papers: „Revolutioner“, „Struggle“, „To arms“, „Liberation“, „Liberty or Death“, etc.; it had its own judiciary institute, its active army — the bands, and its reserve army — the national militia. The right to make laws belonged to the general congress of the Organization. With the central committee at its head it gave the directions and ruled the elective organs. The general congress was convoked every year within the boundaries of Turkey. For purely local questions, in the separate districts or provinces were convoked district and provincial congresses.

The revolutionary net of the Organization at first spread in the mountain villages with a compact Bulgarian population, later throughout the villages in the valleys. Towards 1896, the Organization had spread over the whole of Macedonia.

As we mentioned further up, the Organization was started in the year of 1893. During this year a revolutionary committee was founded in Salonica. In the following year, 1894, was held in Ressen the first sectional assembly of the Macedonian revolutionaries. In 1895 the Organization had its organ „Pravo“ (Right) published outside of Macedonia. In the end of 1896 was organized the first general assembly of all prominent workers of the Organization. This is the tranquil organization period of the revolutionary struggle.

Although the Organization worked very cautiously, what it most feared happened, its network was untimely and largely revealed. This came about through the sensational, at the time, Vinitza affair, for which the Organization was not to blame. Brigands dressed in soldiers uniforms killed, on the 27 th November 1897, the Bey of the village of Vinitza and robbed his house. On this occasion the police authorities made an enquiry and subjected the Bulgarian villagers to beatings and torture. Searches were made, and rifles, bombs etc. were discovered. Every devilish torture was resorted to on the Bulgarian population throughout the district. Many died from torture, 628 persons were arrested, 300 fled. One after the other similar discoveries were made elsewhere, and the prisons were crammed with the flower of the Bulgarian population, and a great number were obliged to take refuge beyond the frontiers. The most important of these affairs are: that of Valandovo (Doiran district) in 1899; that of Tikvish in January 1900; that of Enidje-Vardar in August 1900; the sensational one of Salonica in 1901, which later extended to the casas of Kukuch, Guevguei, Doiran, Voden, and Tikvesh. During 1897—902 five such affairs occurred in the district of Strumitza. During the same period two occurred in Voden, one in the Doiran district in 1902, one in the district of Seres. In the Kostur district in 1899 to the end of May 1903 fourteen occurred. In the Kitchievo district in the month of September 1909, two. In Bitolia in the month of February 1902, one. In the Prilep district in 1902, two. Other similar affairs occurred, during the same years, in the districts of Demir-Hissar, Lerin, Shtip, Koumanovo, Radovtch, and Kotchani. In connection of all these affairs the official Turkish authorities enacted barbarities without number. The number of murdered, tortured, arrested and of those fled beyond the frontiers, and of the violated women is enormous. But this dreadful government terror failed to crush the Organization, and the spirit of the Macedonian Bulgarian.

During this very period were undertaken two local insurrections one in 1895 in the Melnik district, another, the bigger, in the month of October 1902, in the district of Doiran. The object was to force the hand of European diplomacy, and oblige it to take up the Macedonian question. In the beginning of february 1903 Russia and Austria presented to the Sultan a plan for reforms. In this plan was projected the reorganization of the police and the gendarmerie, and the substitution of the mahomedan rural guards by christians in the christian villages. These insignificant reforms were valueless because no outside control was provided for, neither for the necessary security for their application. For the population these reforms were a mockery of its sad condition, and they were mockingly called „the rural guard reforms“.

Although the Organization avoided frequent encounters in order to spare its forces for the decisive moment, these occurred, and from the middle of March to the end of May 1903, 122 encounters occurred between the bands and the Turkish soldiers, and the specially armed parties for the pursuit of the bands. In these encounters the Organization had 494 and the Turks 4171 in killed.

The oppression continued with greater energy. The political atmosphere in Macedonia and the Adrianople province became heated, especially after the insurrection in the Djoumaja district. The Organization aware that the decisive moment was approaching, made strenuous

efforts to be ready for it. The Turkish government instead of doing anything for the avoidance of the coming storm by introducing effective reforms, acted even with greater barbarities against the population. The encounters between the bands and the soldiers became more frequent. The soldiers and bashibosuks crossed and recrossed the villages, robbed the inhabitants, subjected them to inhuman torture, they often burned whole villages and committed whole sale massacres. The proceedings in Salonica, on the 27th of April to the 1st of May 1903, provoked further exasperation in the bloody conflicts between the population and the authorities. Unheard of massacres were perpetrated in many places without reason. Thus in Bitolia, on the 6th of May, 14 Bulgarians were murdered and more than 40 wounded, 20 were thrown into prison, of these six died from the effects of torture. On the 22nd of the same month, soldiers entered the village of Smardesh (district of Kostour), burnt 160 houses, murdered 87 persons, men, women, and children, and left 50 persons wounded. The total number of the Bulgarians imprisoned in European Turkey and Asia Minor, subsequent to the attempts in Salonica, reached to no less than 20,000 souls.

The united struggle and the common sufferings stimulated a high ideal standard, which penetrated the entire people. The greatest sufferings are no longer a weakness for the inhabitants to betray the bands. The supreme moment had arrived for a decisive move. Instead of isolated fighting which only weakened its forces, and exposed its people necessarily to ever greater sacrifices, the Organization resolved to exchange its defensive position for an offensive one and give a general battle. In the Bitolia revolutionary province, and in part of that of Adrianople an insurrection was resolved upon with all the armed forces of the Organization, with one limited only to greater activity of the bands, in the provinces of Scopia, Seres and Salonica.

VII

ILINDEN (St. ILYA) INSURRECTION

The insurrection of Bitolia was proclaimed on the 2nd August 1903, on the evening of St. Elya's day, thence its name „St. Elya's insurrection“. It spread throughout all the casaz: Bitolia, Lerin, Kostour, Ochrida, Kitchewo and in part of that of Prilep-an extent of 10,000 square kilometers, with a Bulgarian population of 250,000 souls. The greater part of the fighting took place in the first half of August, and in all the above mentioned casaz. The most severe fighting took place round the town of Kroushevo, caza Bitolia. The insurgents obtained first success everywhere, and seized towns as well as villages. But later the Turks receiving important reinforcements, advanced against the insurgents. The fighting continued long and severe, it was ended by a fall of snow, in the later part of October the insurrection was crushed. The battles fought during the insurrection in the Bitolia region alone amounted to 150; the number of those in the Bitolia caza were no less than 70. 19,852 insurgents and 292,735 soldiers and bashibosuks took part.

In the Adrianople province the insurrection broke out on the 18 th August. The number of encounters were 36, the number of insurgents 1.960, that of the soldiers 10.587. The insurrectionary activity of the bands in the province of Seres, Salonica and Scöpie acted as a cooperative force to the general insurrectionary movement in the Bitolia and Adrianople provinces. The task of the bands in these provinces was to keep up the disturbance in the midst of the authorities, and confine the military to their garrisons.

The insurrection was put down with every possible cruelty as ever manifested in similar cases. If the authorities could organize massacres under the very eyes of the European Powers, such as those in Constantinople in 1896, and in Salonica in 1903, how much more with a freer hand and more barbarity could such massacres be perpetrated upon a population risen in insurrection in distant villages and small towns. Here are statistical details on the subject: houses burnt 12.440, shelterless population 70,835; killed and massacred 4.694; 30.000 of the shelterless took refuge in Bulgaria.

The St. Elya's insurrection in Macedonia brought up the Macedonian question before the eyes of the Great Powers. The noble object, pursued by the insurgents—the liberation of a population oppressed during centuries, and the common feeling of humanity moved the enlightened minds, and noble hearts called upon them to fulfill their duties in defence of justice. The independent press of all civilized countries raised its voice, and protested against the perpetrated barbarities. Well attended meetings in France, Italy and England protested against Hamid's oppression and destructive policy. In free Bulgaria a storm of indignation arose. Great meetings were held in all the towns. Great was the fear of a war breaking out between Bulgaria and Turkey, this was an alternative the European diplomacy was anxious to avoid, and therefore took steps to prevent a Balcan conflagration or at least to put it off for a certain time.

VIII

INTERVENTION OF THE GREAT POWERS

After long deliberations between the governments of the Great Powers, the Murzschteg reform programme was prepared and communicated to the Porte on the 22 October 1903. These reforms gave no satisfaction to the Macedonian population. Even in the opinion of many foreigners, they were insufficient. Thus the French author, René Pinon, who travelled in Macedonia in 1907, writes in the „Revue des deux Mondes“: „It will be necessary that the Europeans should have not only inspection and control but also executive authority and the right to order“. It was consequently natural for the Revolutionary Organization to consider its insurrectionary action as unaccomplished. It had not only preserved its cadres but had saved its prestige with the population. This is recognized by foreigners who visited Macedonia immediately after the insurrection, and obtained full information on the revolutionary movement. Here are a few lines of extracts from the book of H. N. Brailsford — „Macedonia, its Races and their Future“, page 133—146; „The first surprise was

that this race rose unanimously (en masse). The second surprise was according to me, even more significant than the first, that all the sufferings of the last autumn had failed to weaken the spirit of the people, or to prejudice it against the Committee or its leaders. More than hundred villages have been reduced to ashes. Sixty thousand families lost not only their hearths but all their possessions. I doubt if they saved a tenth of their cattle and sheep, of their ploughs and horses. Besides this there were massacres and destruction. Heokasy, Armensko, Mohreni, Krushevo, Smurdesh, Dumbeni and Kossinetz are names of some of these villages which did not take part in the insurrection yet suffered losses of hundreds of dead and murdered" "In many villages one may meet with people stark-mad. Notwithstanding this condition of things the peasants remain loyal to the Organisation, which has led them into such misery".

"One can hear no expression of ill will or accusation against the committee, not even regret for the evident lost forces. The sick men, recovering slowly from the diseases acquired from suffering, wounds and want, spoke hopefully of their future plans, and the struggle they looked forward to renew as soon as their health and the spring allowed it". "The more one studies the Macedonian Bulgarians, the more he respects their patriotism and heroism. The committee has never met with difficulties whenever it required volunteers for dangerous work, such as for the placing of mines, the destruction of bridges, or the throwing of bombs, in which cases the probability was that death would follow the attempt" "It should be remarked also, that the actual leaders and the directing minds of the movement are not men from the streets, who possess nothing which they can lose, and persons deprived of rights, adventurers, with a chance for gain only, they are usually men wealthy, honourable merchants and professional men".

One of the editors of the "Russ", who visited Macedonia after the Macedonian insurrection, in his "Impressions from the Near East", writes: "The traveller arrived in Macedonia in order to understad the Macedonian question, is very soon convinced, that masters of the situation are not the rulers of the country-the Turks, but the "Internal Organization". And further: "The accounts of the activity of the Internal Organization of its pervading power appear to you, at first, improbable. Listening to them, you unwillingly think of the novels of Ponson du Teraïl, mysterious robberies, murders, escapades and so on. But little by little you acquire the conviction that the greater part of these accounts are true and that the destiny of Macedonia is, in the main, in the hands of this Internal Organization".

The special correspondent of the New York "Evening Post", writes in February 1905 on the Internal Organization: "Outside of the Balcan Peninsula it is believed that the Organization is some mysterious society of semi bandit political chiefs, an assembly of revolutionary leaders. It is however neither the one nor the other. The directing body of the Macedonian Organization is nothing less than a senate of a secret republic, instituted inside of the Turkish empire, and elected by the people and through the people, with no secret elections. In the heart of a falling to pieces government is growing, from below, a perfect form of a political Organization, as perfect in its branches, as any one in any free republican country. In the Turkich empire there are: Macedonian courts of justice, Mace-

donian militia, Macedonian schools and newspapers, and a Macedonian post-all this exists notwithstanding the greaest efforts of the Turkish government to destroy it".

During the spring of 1904 the Organization leaders were enabled to ascertain that the Organization remained as strong as it was before the insurrection, that the gaps in chiefs and leading men were refilled with new volunteers. During the summer of the same year the Organization gave it to be understodd, that is was again ready at its work. During that year there were 26 encounters between the bands of the Internal Revolutionary Organization and the specially armed Turkish bands against them. 75 similar encounters took place during the year 1905. In these encounters many mumberes of bands and prominent chiefs were lost. During this period also of the activity of the Organization the government bands did nor fail to continue to harras the peaceful population. The British Ambassador, Sir N. O'Connor, drew the serious attention of the Grand Vezir regarding the crimes committed on the Bulgarians, and informed him that the situation had strenghtened the conviction that the Government was incapable or not anxious to put an end to such crimes.

During the succeding years 1906, 1907 and 1908, down to the revolution of the Young Turkey party, the revolutionary activity of the bands was even greater and the encounters more frequent. From March 1906 to July 1907, as may be seen from the statistics of the Inspector General Hilmi Pacha, 74 encounters took place. (Victor Berard, *La Révolution Turque*. Paris, 1909, p. 260—26). In 1906 the Organization in an encounter with a special armed Turkish band lost its first founder and apostle of the revolutionary idea in Macedonia, Damyan Groueff, born in the village Smilevo, Bitolia district.

If the insurrection of 1903 called forth the Murschteg reforms, the activity of the Organization, during the following years, served as the principal leaver for the extention of the reform work to a degree which foreshadowed the gradual separation of Macedonia from the empire, and its constitution into an autonomous province. Indeed the civilised world and the Europeau diplomacy had to be convinced that the Bulgarian Macedonian population could never give itself up to a quiet and peaceful work, so long as the minimum of an autonomous regime was not secured for it. On this subject, His Excellency Mr. Constan, French Ambassador in Constantinople, in a report to his Government, towards the end of December 1904, says: „The situaton in Macedonia has sensibly grown worse during this month. The endless delay with which the reformation of the gendarmerie is proceeding, from which above all the christians expected efficacious results, and the unwillingness, more and more evident, which the authorities manifest in this instance serve to increase the uneaseness in all the centres. It appears that the belief in Macedonia, that the reforms can no longer de counted upon, is spreading wider, and the Bulgarians holding that they are the real aim of the systematic animosity on the part of the government are more and more resolved to resort to arms“. (Victor Berard. *La Revolution Turque* Paris, 1909, p. 209.)

The Great Powers, convinced of the absolute necesiity for the extention of the reforms in Macedonia, after a long consultation, elaborated the financial reform programme, which with great efforts, after resorting, because of the opposition of the Turks, to a naval demonstration, they succeeded to impose upon the Porte on the 9th of November 1906. During

1907 the governments of the Great Powers consulted on the subject of introducing judicial reforms. The contradictory interests of these Powers failed to bring about a general and definite decision. Finally, on the 10th of June, a meeting of the King of England and the Russian Emperor in Reval took place, and a general Anglo-Russian plan of reforms for Macedonia was agreed to tending to autonomy for this province, unfortunately it never saw the daylight, the revolution of the Young Turks forestalled even its trial.

The tyrannical regime of Abdul-Hamid had created discontent also among the Turks on the one hand, and the Macedonian revolutionary movement, on the other, which was on the point of obtaining Autonomy for Macedonia, and consequently, its separation from the empire, provoked the revolution of the young Turks. Six weeks after the meeting of Reval the Constitutional government was proclaimed in Bitolia and Salonica. The authors of the revolution hastened to explain to the population, especially to the Bulgarians, that a new era had arisen in Turkey, an era of liberty, equality and brotherhood. Special envoys were dispatched to the leaders of the Organization to assure them, that the rights for which they were struggling with arms will be secured to them, and their cooperation was sought for the organization of the state. The revolutionaries issued from the villages, came down from the mountains and were received enthusiastically by the population, which had bred and supported them, as well as by the representatives of the authorities and the men of the Committee „Union and Progress“. In appearance it was a true brotherly understanding between the Turks-Masters and the discontented and troublesome raya. The Organization manifested this time also its usual common sense: it resolved to suspend the revolutionary struggle, foreseeing, that sooner or later circumstances would again force the renewal of the struggle. It therefore preserved its cadres and stored away its arms.

The Bulgarian intelligent class hastened to organize the town and village population into constitutional clubs, the delegates of which, met in an assembly, elaborated a general programme with a principal demand-provincial autonomy. Newspapers, and reviews were published in Salonica by Macedonians: 1) „Constitutional Dawn“, 2) „National Will“, 3) „Unity“, 4) „Country“, 5) „Fatherland“, 6) „Right“, 7) „Teacher's Voice“, 8) „Workman“, 9) The Reviews „Cultural Unity“, and 10) „Spark“. But the Young Turks were not sincere, they were resolved to secure, at all price, the preservation of the political and economical lordship for their own race. Their object was to free themselves of the European reformers, and they succeeded, and immediately destroyed everything done by these reformers. With the law for the formation of societies, issued in 1909, the formation of national parties was forbidden. Thus the Union of the Bulgarian constitutional clubs was dissolved. The Young Turks attempted also to annul the rights of the non mahomedan religious communities. Their extreme nationalism led them to try to take possession of the Bulgarian schools. With the riddance of the civil agents and the officer instructors, the abuses, the crimes reached their former degree. The persecutions revived the old readiness for an armed struggle, and the leaders of the Internal Organization found the moment had arrived to recommence its revolutionary action. The Turkish government issued the notorious law for the pursuit of the bands, and undertook the forcible disarmament of the Bulgarian population in Mace-

donia, during which were perpetrated unheard of horrors. In the three vilayets were beaten 4,973 persons, of which 73 died or were maimed for life; 2,050 took refuge in Bulgaria and 2,010 took to the mountains to recruit the supports of the bands.

The Internal Organization in order to spare its forces, avoided big encounters, and gave prominence to attempts with dynamite. During the years 1910—1912, 22 such attempts were made in various localities on the railway lines, on trains, stations and government buildings. The most important of these, judging from their results, were those in Shtip, on the 4-th Decembr 1911, and in Kotchani, on the 1st August 1912. The massacres which ensued were horrid. In Shtip were murdered 20 persons and 300 wounded. In Kotchani 39 were murdered, 50 severely and 170 lightly wounded. These two sad cases, especially the second one created great excitement in Bulgaria. Meetings of protest were held in all the towns of the kingdom, the entire Macedonian emigration taking part, as also all the political parties, and resolutions were passed in the sense that the time had arrived for Bulgaria to draw the sword for the protection of her children, and to identify its destiny with that of Macedonia. The press openly preached war with Turkey. Now, as after the St. Elya insurrection, the Macedonian Organization sent its representatives to Europe, to enlighten the public opinion there regarding the cruel and unbearable condition of things in Macedonia, and to intercede with the governments of the Great Powers for the immediate introduction of an autonomous rule in this unhappy country. This time also European diplomacy failed to take the necessary steps for the amelioration of the condition of the Macedonian population, and the Balkan war ensued. The other Balcan States were also discontented with the policy of the Young Turks. Greece had the liberation of its nationalists in Crete and Epyrus to think of, Serbia hers of the Novi-Pazar Sandjack, Bulgaria hers in Macedonia and South Thrace. Thus an alliance between the Balcan States became possible in 1912.

IX

THE WAR OF LIBERATION 1912—1913, AND THE BUCAREST TREATY 1913

The declaration of the war of liberation stirred up the whole of Macedonia. Expectations were at an end-Bulgarian soldiers were coming. With a storm of enthusiasm the population welcomed the allied armies. This war was desired and waited for by the Internal Organization. Notwithstanding its suspicion of Greek and Serbian treachery, it gave no motives for accusations that it was acting unfriendly towards the allies. On the contrary its bands rendered great services. On the other hand the Macedonians at the time in Bulgaria and other countries volunteered, and in one month were constituted into a strong fighting body, numbering 14,670 men. This Macedonian volunteer corps, formed into three brigades of 15 battalons, under Macedonian officers, took Gumuldjina, took part in the capture of Javer Pasha, and the repulse of the Turkish debarcation at Sharkeui. The Serbians, however, had from the very beginning resolved not to fulfill their engagements by the treaty

and as it is now established concluded a secret military convention, and this before the peace with Turkey was signed. The first cries of pain from the Bulgarians, following their bad treatment by the Serbians and Greeks in Macedonia, came in rapidly. With many and touching petitions the Macedonian Bulgarian population addressed itself to the Bulgarian government, describing the oppressive measures of the Serbians and Greeks, and their infidelity as allies, and demanded to be united to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian government, however, itself loyal towards its allies, persisted to believe in their loyalty. The Staff of the army even recalled from Macedonia all the partisan detachments, members of bands and leaders, and enrolled them in the Macedonian volunteer corps, which operated in southern Thrace, that they may not act in opposition to the allies, and provoke misunderstanding between them and Bulgaria. But the treachery towards Bulgaria, as is seen from the Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Cause and Conduct of the Balkan wars. (Carnegie Endowment for the International Peace, Washington, U. S. A. 1914), had been preconceived and decided upon before the breaking out of hostilities. This explains why the ill usage of the Bulgarian population grew worse than ever, and this was happening while the Bulgarians were fighting the Turks at Bulair and Tchataldja, in the midst of snows and want, in the interest of the Allies.

The war between the allies broke out. On the day following the Bulgarian mitropolitans and vicars in Macedonia were arrested and forcibly expelled beyond the frontier. The intelligent class in the towns and villages, the priests and the school teachers were arrested and maltreated, the churches and schools seized.

In the war between the allies, 1913, both the Macedonian volunteer corps and the band detachments took part. Some of the latter penetrated into the interior of Macedonia in the rear of the Greek and Serbian armies. After bloody encounters they forced their way to Ochrida and Dibra, and thence found refuge in Albania. Bulgaria, attacked on five sides, was overpowered. The Bucharest treaty was concluded, it legalized a great injustice towards Bulgaria. The seed of strife was sown, and sooner or later it was bound to raise a storm. The 28th of July 1913, is a black day for Bulgaria, and for the Bulgarian nation in general and for Macedonia in particular. On this day the political unity of the Bulgarian nation was ruined for the second time after the Berlin Congress, at the very moment, when, exactly as in 1878, it was on the point of realisation. Macedonia believed for a moment that the hour of her salvation had at last arrived, saw herself suddenly fallen back into a new, more cruel, more tyrannical subjection. Mercilessly torn to pieces between her greedy neighbours, Serbians and Greeks, deprived of political national liberty, systematically desolated and depopulated, the unhappy country presented a true hell on earth.

X

THE SERBIAN AND GREEK YOKE 1913-1915

The Christian oppressors of Macedonia deprived the native Bulgarians even of the minimum of human, national and educational rights, such as they had enjoyed even during

the darkest period of the Turkish regime. A stranger who visited Macedonia and who cannot be suspected of partiality for the Bulgarians wrote on the situation, on the 28th of March 1914, in the Moscow paper „Ruskoe Slovo“. He was Mr V. Darskyi, Belgrade Correspondent of the paper: „The Achilles heel of the Serbian internal policy is the administrative misrule in New Serbia. This was most evident in Scopie, this cultural and economical centre of Serbian Macedonia“... „The Serbian professors have written volumes to prove, that Macedonia is inhabited almost entirely by a pure and solely Serbian population, but it was, notwithstanding, found necessary, after the war, to proclaim martial law and exceptional draconic measures...“ These precautions are the best commentaries as regards the professors on the subject of the ethnographical composition of the Macedonian population“... „The liberators are in fear of the liberated, and the all powerful police, secret and plain, takes possession of all the vital arteries in the country, and is infusing quietly but surely the poison of lawlessness and personal consideration“... „For the present the military authorities are realising by brutal manners the idea of assimilation of the Macedonian population with the Serbian nation“.

This honourable Russian correspondent had correctly grasped the oppressive and lawless regime of the new masters of Macedonia, and this in a big town such as Scopie, often visited by foreigners. Mr. Darskyi failed to penetrate and see what was doing in the out of the way Macedonian villages and small towns, distant from the big centres, and the observing eyes of strangers. Had he had the chance of visiting all parts of the enslaved country, to come in direct contact with the masses of the population and to hear accounts of their intolerable pain, the honourable Russian would have been incapable to express his horror of those responsible for the cruelties to which the unhappy population was subjected to.

Rare is the case in which nations have fallen into such a tragical position as this one in which the Macedonian Bulgarians found themselves after the Bucarest treaty. They were forbidden to open schools in which their children could be taught in their mother tongue; they were not allowed to have a priesthood of their own, neither churches. Even worse: the Macedonian Bulgarian was forbidden to call himself by his true national name both under the Greek and Serbian rule. Under one rule he is treated as a Greek speaking the Bulgarian language (Bulgarophon), under the Serbian he is forced by fire and sword to declare himself a pure Serbian. In Macedonia under the Greeks, in the beautiful Bulgarian districts: Lerin, Embore, Voden, Kostour, Kukush and others, all the Bulgarian churches and chapels were closed. Not one Bulgarian school is left open. All the Bulgarian books are destroyed, even the school archives. During the month of February 1914 the Greek authorities in Salonica destroyed the archives and libraries of the Bulgarian gymnasiums there, rich in the number of volumes in foreign languages. The priest of the Bulgarian villages are instructed to preach regularly, every Sunday, in the sense that the population was of Greek origin, that it was bulgarized by the Exarchate and the Committee, that no one should any longer speak the „barbarous“ Bulgarian language, that it was the duty of all to use the Greek language only. It is severely forbidden for the Bulgarians to salute each

other in Bulgarian. The offenders against these orders are subjected to cruel torture by Greek bands. Even the Bulgarian catholics, who enjoy the protection of some of the Great Powers, are persecuted by the Greek authorities in the most brutal manner. Thus on the 11-th of May 1914, Greek officers with soldiers, with Mr. Papodopoulos at their head, entered the Bulgarian church during the service, beat many of those present, arrested the priests, the singers, and 15 of the public. In this case of savage conduct the United Catholic Bulgarian bishop of Salonica, Epifanyi Shanoff, handed, the next day, to the Governor General Soufoulis an energetic protest.

The fate of half of our country Macedonia, in which are Bitolia, Ochrida, Scopie, Shtip and many other strong places of the Bulgarians, is no better. Here also the Bulgarian schools are closed; the Bulgarian children are forced to attend the Serbian schools. Every time that these children pronounce a Bulgarian word they are mercelessly beaten by their teachers. The Bulgarians are forbidden to call themselves by their national names, to speak and to pray to God in their mother tongue. That they may lord it over a stranger country to them, and to stifle the protests of the discontented population, the Serbians, soon after the Bucarest peace, introduced exceptional laws. On the 27 th of September 1913 were published in Belgrade the so called „Regulations for the Public Safety in the New Lands“. The object of these regulations was to clothe with legality an extremely oppressive system, and this concerned a population which they proclaimed, to all who would hear, that it was Serbian. Follow the regulations:

REGULATIONS FOR THE PUBLIC SAFETY IN THE NEW LANDS

Art. 1. The State police, considering the insufficiency of its organs for the security of personal liberty and property, and safety, has the right to demand from the military government the necessary forces for the preservation of order and quiet. The military government is bound to immediately satisfy such demands; the police authority to report such cases to the Minister of the Interior.

Art. 2. Should any one attempt to oppose the authority of the state, for such an attempt only the guilty is punished with imprisonment of five years in a fortress. As proof of such an offence, the resolution of the police authority, notified to the respective community, is sufficient.

Should the offender refuse to deliver himself up within ten days after the notification of the resolution he may be executed by any state agent, officer or soldier.

Art. 3. Should an offender, notified as such by a police resolution, commit whatever further offence he is punished by death, should such a one give himself up to the authorities, his punishment will be reduced to imprisonment in a fortress from 10 to 20 years, and this should the court of justice so decide.

Art. 4. Should in any community be observed cases of desobedience, and the guilty parties do not reenter their homes within ten days after the police notification, the police authorities have the right to transport their families wherever they find fit.

In the same manner are transported the inhabitants of houses in which armed men and general offenders have taken refuge.

As regards the manner of transportation, which must be carried out immediately, the chief of police must report to the prefecture.

The Minister of the Interior, should he find it reasonable, may counterorder the transportation.

Art. 5. Should the transported by order of the prefecture return to their preceding residence without the permission of the Minister of the Interior, they are punishable with three years imprisonment.

Art. 6. Should soldiers be sent into any district or community for the preservation of public order their expenses are born by the community. Such cases are reported to the prefecture.

Should order be reestablished in a short time and the offenders are arrested, the Minister of the Interior may free the district or the Community from these expenses.

Should the Minister find it opportune he may do the same in other cases.

Art. 7. He who without the permission of the prefecture of police authorities carry arms or keep them concealed in a house or other places, is punishable with imprisonment in a fortress up to five years or incarceration of three months.

The same punishment is applicable to any one who sells arms or munitions without the permission of the police authorities.

Art. 8. He who uses whatever kind of explosive materials, knowing that such are dangerous to life and property is punishable with imprisonment of twenty years in a fortress.

Art. 9. He who prepares explosive materials or gives instruction for their preparation, or knows the existence of such anywhere destined for a crime, is punished as provided in Art. 8, with imprisonment of ten years in a fortress.

Art. 10. He who receives, takes care of, or transports explosive materials intended for a crime, except it is done for the sake of preventing the crime, will be punished with imprisonment of five years in a fortress.

Art. 11. He who uses without evil intention whatever explosive material will be punished with imprisonment of five years in a fortress.

Art. 12. 1) He who knowingly damages the streets, the roads or squares and renders them unsafe for the lives and health of the people, will be punished with imprisonment of fifteen years in a fortress.

He who has done such damage unintentionally will be punished with imprisonment of five years in a fortress.

2) If the perpetration of such damage has occasioned danger to the lives or health of many people, or has resulted in the death of many people, and this could have been foreseen, the offender will be punished by death or imprisonment of twenty years in a fortress. Should it have been done unintentionally, the responsible party will be punished with imprisonment of ten years in a fortress.

Art. 13. 1) He who attempts to damage the railroad or the communications, will be punished with imprisonment of twenty years, in a fortress. Should the damage be done unintentionally, the punishment will be ten years of imprisonment in a fortress.

2) Should such an injury have occasioned danger to the lives of many people, or resulted in many deaths and wounds, the punishment will be death or imprisonment of twenty years in a fortress.

Art. 15. He who conceals armed men or offenders in general, will be punished with imprisonment of ten years in a fortress.

Art. 16. He who knows of an offender and does not give him up to the authorities will be punished with imprisonment of five years in a fortress.

Art. 17. He who agitates and incites disobedience to the public authority, the laws, and the legal regulations, or rises against the state or communal authority organs will be punished with imprisonment of ten years or incarceration for six months.

Should such conduct be not followed by results, the punishment may be reduced to three months.

Art. 18. He who attacks a state agent or official, charged with the application of the law, or the execution of a judicial sentence, or state, communal or police regulations, while such are doing their duty, will be punished with imprisonment of ten years, or at least with six months of incarceration however small may be the offence.

The same punishment will be applied also for attacks upon the assistants of the official or upon those called for special, expert work.

Should the offence be committed when the official is not on duty, the offence will be punished with imprisonment of two years.

Art. 19. If the above offences are perpetrated by a group of men, they will be punished with imprisonment of fifteen years in a fortress. The accomplices in the perpetration of the above mentioned offences against persons on duty, will be punished most severely, should this be found insufficient, such may be condemned to imprisonment of twenty years in a fortress.

Art. 20. He who collects a band to act against the state or to impede the state authorities, will be punished with imprisonment of twenty years in a fortress.

Art. 21. The accomplices of rebels or bands, who have opposed with arms the Serbian military forces, or the state and communal officials and agents, will be punished with death or at least with ten years imprisonment in a fortress.

Art. 22. The coming together of rebels in groups who refuse to disperse on the invitation to do so by the state or communal agents, those who have offended are punished with imprisonment of two years.

Art. 23. If while constructing roads, or generally state, communal and village work any one attempts to incite trouble, himself refuses to work or to work in a given place or as he is told, and persists in his disobedience after he is invited by the authorities, will be punished with incarceration from three months to two years.

Art. 24. Soldier or citizen who refuses to present himself under the colours, objects or declines to answer the call, or refuses to submit to the military commanders, will be punished with imprisonment in a fortress for five years or at least with incarceration of two months.

If the offences are done during mobilisation or war time, the punishment will be imprisonment in a fortress for twenty years.

Any Serbian soldier who assists anybody to desert or he himself deserts from the army, as also he who tempts any Serbian soldier, or leads him to such as will tempt him to desert into a foreign army will be punished with imprisonment of ten years in a fortress.

Should this be done during mobilisation or war time, the punishment is death.

Art. 25. He who liberates any one under watch or under condemnation, or delivered for keeping under guard to any official or agent, or accompanies him anywhere and enables him to escape and thus liberates him, will be punished with imprisonment of fifteen years in a fortress.

Should this be done by an organized group, all accomplices will be punished with an imprisonment of three to five years in a fortress.

Art. 26. The prefect has the right to issue in his name police regulations for the security of personal liberty and property. He fixes the punishments to be awarded to the offenders.

The punishment may be up to three years of imprisonment or a fine up to 1.000 dinars.

The regulations issued by the Prefect are put in force immediately, but he is bound to communicate them at once to the Minister of the Interior for his knowledge and approval.

Art. 27. The offences enumerated in the present regulations have precedence to all other cases before the courts of justice, and are attended to with great urgency.

Those brought up to answer the offences mentioned in the present regulations are detained in prison as a precautionary measure until the final judgement on the case. Within three days the district court must send up its judgement for the final one on the part of the supreme court, which must act at once.

Art. 28. The law for the capture and destruction of brigands of the 12th of July 1895, entered into force on the 18th of August 1913, remains in force so long as it is not modified by the present regulations for the newly annexed provinces.

Art 29. The regulations in §§ 22, 93, 95, 96, 87, 98, 302^b, 32^v, 393^g (as far as it regards § 302^b and ^v) 304, 396 and 360 alinea 3, of the criminal law which do not correspond with the present regulations are null and void.

Art. 30. The present regulations do not modify the provisions of § 34 of the Military Criminal Law in connection with § 4 of the same law, §§ 52 and 69 of the Military Criminal Law, § 4 of the same law, which are inapplicable to civilians.

Art. 31. The present regulations enter into force from the day on which it bears the king's signature, and will be published in the Serbian papers.

We recommend to our Council of Ministers to proclaim these regulations and to see to their execution; we order the authorities to be guided by them, and to all and every one to obey them.

27 September 1913. Belgrade.

Peter.

Macedonia was turned into a house of torture. All who dared to call themselves Bulgarians were imprisoned, ill used and murdered. Whole Bulgarian villages and towns were burnt down. Some 20.000 persons took refuge in Bulgaria. The book of professor Miletitch, the pamphlet by the professors of the Sofia university, the book of the gymnasium teacher Parlitcheff and others give a small part of the Greek and Serbian cruelties. They give an unconditional true small page of the life of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, who are deprived of all their schools, churches, all rights, and even the honour of their mothers, wives and sisters. A great part of the cruelties of the Greeks are established also by the Carnegie Enquiry Commission. in its report: Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Cause and Conduct of the Balcan wars. (Carnegie Endowment for the International Peace, Washington U. S. A. (There is a French edition).

The ugly facts of which we read in the above referred to books, illustrate in an undoubted manner the destructive policy of Serbians and Greeks, and this in a country which they pretend is their's, and towards a population, which they proclaim as their own. It is plain these acts do not harmonise with their words, and the conclusion, to which every sensible man must arrive at cannot be in their favour.

We take the liberty to give the names only of the burnt down villages in Macedonia by Greeks and Serbians, mentioned in the report of the Carnegie Enquiry Commission.

They are:

Bulgarian villages burnt on Greek territory.

Salonica district (caza). Bulgarian villages burnt by Greeks: Negovan, Ravka, Bogoroditza.

Ziliahovski district: Skrijevo, Libiahovo, Kalapot (partially), Alistrat (partially), and Guredjik.

Kukuch district: 40 villages burnt by the Greeks: the town of Kukuch (consisting of 1864 houses, 612 shops, 5 mills); Indjilar (707), Alidjalar (50), Goliabashe (407), Salamanovo (15), Ambar-Key (35), Karadja-Kadar (25), Atchaklik (15), Sesaovo (30), Strzovo (207), Shikirkia (15), Irekli (20), Gramada (100), Aleksevo (100), Morartzi (350), Roshlevo (40), Motolovo (250), Planitza (partially), Nimantzi (407), Nostolar (35), Jensko (45), Kondjomalri (307), Vilgaria (18), Kazanovo (20), Dragomirtzi (115) partially, Gavoliantzi (45), Kretzovo (15), Kalinovo (35), Tchiguntzi (35), Hirsovo (50), Novo-Selo (20) partially, Malivtzi (20), Vrighturtzi (15), Garbashel (30), Haidarli (10), Daoutli (18), Shtemnitza (40), Raianovo (150) partially, Gola (15). In all 4.725 buildings.

Doiran district: 11 Bulgarian villages burnt by the Greeks:

Akandjali (150), Dubrali, Nikolitch, Pataros, Sourlevo, Popovo, Hassanli, Brest, Vladaja, Dimontzi, Ratartzi.

Demir-Hissar district: Five Bulgarian villages, burnt by the Greeks:

Krushevo (800), Kurtshevo (180), Tchernovitza (170), Guerman (80) and Djuma-Mahala, Instead of Krushevo, which is not burnt, we must read Gorno-Brodi (district of Seres). with 1.000 houses, of which more than 800 are burnt.

Seres district: 6 Bulgarian villages, burnt by the Greeks:

Dutli (100), Orehovetz (130), Drenovo, Muglen, Frashten, Banitza (120).

Guevgueli district: 15 Bulgarian villages and 3 Vlach villages, burnt by the Greeks, two of them — by the Serbians:

Sehovo, Shlopentzi, Matchoukovo, Smol, Bajaltzi, Mursentzi, Orahovitza, Smokvitza, Balintzi, Braikovtzi, Kosturino, Moine, Stojakovo, Furka, Ohani, Huma and Linguntza (Vlach).

11 Bulgarian villages burnt in Serbian Territory.

Tikwesh district: Five Bulgarian villages, burnt by the Serbians:

Negotin (800), Kamendol, Gorno-Dimol, Hascovo, Kavadtzi (15) partially etc.

Kotchani district. Three Bulgarian villages, burnt by the Serbians:

Zletovo, Besikovo, Presseka, etc.

(Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Inquiry into the Balkans, Paris, 1914, p. 323—324. French edition).

„The number of villages mentioned in this list, with those burnt down on Bulgarian territory, of which we have made no mention is 161, the number of the burnt houses is about 14,480. We believe, that the Greeks, during the second war, burnt not less than 16,000 houses (the same, p. 322 French edition).

The other atrocities perpetrated by Serbians and Greeks in Macedonia — ill usages, arrests, violations, murder etc. described by the authors of the above publications, are numerous but, it is inopportune to include them in a memoir as the present one. We leave it to the impartial reader to draw his own conclusions, and to answer whether it is possible to accept that the population of this country, towards which Serbians and Greeks conduct themselves so atrociously, and towards whom they apply a policy of destruction, can possibly be Serbian or Greek.

The people of Macedonia attempted through its Revolutionary Organization to resist this tyrannical regime of their oppressors. The first armed protest against the Serbian rule, two months after the Bucarest treaty, was the insurrectionary action in Ochrida, Strouga and Dibra. The Serbian garrisons were expelled from the said towns, and for a certain time a revolutionary authority ruled in them. A bloody battle was fought between the revolutionaries and the Serbian regular army, the resistance of the first was broken, and they withdrew into Albania.

The Serbians ruled Macedonia for three years. The first task of the Organization was to realize the new conditions, to thoroughly understand the new situation, and plan in accordance further revolutionary activity. The revolutionary groups visited the populated centres of their districts to encourage the people suffering under the new trials, to inspire it with faith in the future, to reconstruct the committees, and to maintain the connection between them and the central Committee. The people during this period adopted a passive resistance to the Serbian regime. A considerable part of the Macedonians called up for Serbian military service refused to present themselves, they hid away. Those who were forcibly marched to Kraguevatz as recruits refused to take the oath to king Peter, and suffered for their audacity: many of them were murdered, those who remained alive were dispersed in Serbian regiments. A great many Bulgarians fled to America from Macedonia under Greek rule to escape military service in the Greek army, and thousands took refuge in Bulgaria.

The Great European war broke out. The refusal of Serbians and Greeks to make concessions in the Macedonian question drove Bulgaria to take part in the world's struggle for the liberation of the Bulgarian race. In this third war of Bulgaria for Macedonia 80,000 Macedonian Bulgarians took part in the ranks of the Bulgarian army. The revolutionary Organization with its bands and partisan detachments rendered this time also great services to the Bulgarian military command by falling upon Serbian posts, by encountering small forces of the enemy, by cutting the telephone and telegraph communications connecting towns and Serbian military posts etc.

From what has been said so far regarding the Internal Organization it must have become evident, that during a quarter of a century, it was a constant powerful factor as to the destiny of the Macedonian population. A living part of the body of this population, it was a state within a state, and with its great authority it acted as a deterrent power on the official authority, whose abuses it limited, and often rendered negative. Through the revolutionary network it had a grasp upon the whole of Macedonia and was well received everywhere. The population itself joined its destiny to that of the Organization, and its ranks were constantly replenished from the villages and towns. The Internal Revolutionary Organization was simply the entire Macedonian population, organized in self-defence against its masters who would destroy it. The fact that the Internal Organization, as is well known to the world, has always acted as a Bulgarian Organization is the best proof that the population of this country is also Bulgarian. Otherwise the Organization could not have prospered, or manifest such surprising great deeds, such as we have related, and which are admitted by all foreigners acquainted with revolutionary organizations. Different is the conduct of the Serbians and Greeks towards the Macedonian populations. The Greek propaganda in Macedonia exists of old, but Greece has failed to assimilate, to hellenise the population, which has remained Bulgarian. Attempts have been made, from time to time, by the means of armed bands both from free Serbia and free Greece (there never have been local Serbian or Greek bands), but such were always brigand bands without a national ideal, and they met with no success although acting under the protection of the Turkish government. They never had the sympathy of the population, which remained stranger to them.

The disposition of this population towards Serbians and Greeks, whom it considers as forced upon it, and looks upon them as upon oppressors, may be judged from this new fact—when, at the end of last September and the beginning of October, Serbian and Greek authorities established themselves in Macedonia more than 10,000 souls, men, women and children, abandoned their hearths to seek safety in Bulgaria.

Another circumstance, which strikingly proves the Bulgarian character of Macedonia, is the enormous emigration into Bulgaria, it reaches the figure of 200,000 souls. These children of Macedonia, obliged by their oppressors to flee from their homes, pushed by the cruelties and persecutions — in the earlier stage by the Turks, later by the Serbians and Greeks—fled in masses, as already related, at different periods. These emigrant refugees went neither into Serbia nor into Greece, they all sought safety in Bulgaria where they felt at home, in their own native country, in the midst of racial brothers.

The numerous Macedonian emigrants, many of whom possess high education, brought into Bulgaria, within the last forty years, a powerful contingent of public servants in all the branches of the state government. 1) During the Serbo-Bulgarian war, besides the Macedonians who fought as regular soldiers, a body of 404 specially organized volunteers, from various sides of Macedonia, took part in it; 2) Cabinet Ministers 8; 3) in the diplomatic service—Ministers plenipotentiaries, Consuls and Counselors of legations 13; 4) Deputies to the Sobranije 54; 5) Bishops 11; 6) Professors 11; 7) writers and authors 85; 8) artists, sculptors, musicians 32; 9) superior functionaries in Public Instruction 24; 10) superior magistrates 96; 11) eminent medical men 70; 12) engineers 32; 13) officers in the active army 236; 14) officers in the reserve 453, in all 689: of these last 8 are generals, 17 colonels, 43 Lt. colonels; 15) school teachers, up till 1911, 568; 16) priests 96; subsequent to the last wars the many teachers and priests who fled from Macedonia have greatly increased the number of Macedonian teachers and priests in Bulgaria; 17) other officials and agents in the state departments 980; in the electoral communities service 398.

XI

TESTIMONY OF LEARNED MEN, FOREIGNERS, SUBSEQUENT TO THE BERLIN CONGRESS

Macedonia is considered as a Bulgarian country both by its own population and everything which calls itself Bulgarian, as also by many enlightened Europeans of modern times, who have recently visited it. We give the opinion of some of them on the subject:

„The present Bulgaria, within the limits prescribed by the Berlin Treaty, occupies a surface of 65.000 sq-re kilometers, and contains two million inhabitants; there are at least as many Bulgarians in the sister province Eastern Roumelia, in Macedonia and the Adrianople Vilayet, and also in Roumania“. (Erdic. *En Bulgarie et en Roumélie*, Paris 1885.)

„From a political point of view under the head of Bulgaria is understood: 1) The Principality, established by the Berlin Congress, between the Danube and the Balcans, with Sofia for capital; 2) the group composed of this province and the autonomous peovince of Eastern Roumelia, united subsequent to the revolution, accomplished in the month of September 1885 in Plovdiv. We have now to deal with this group; it is however necessary to observe, that it does not embrace all the Bulgarians, the Bulgarians of Macedonia and western Roumelia are not included, predestined, probably, to be united some time to their liberated brothers, as also those of the Dobroudja, ceded to Roumania by the Berlin Congress, and those of the Pirot, Nish and Vranja districts, which the Berlin treaty likewise delivered over to Serbia“. (Louis Léger, *La Grande Encyclopédie*, t. 8, p. 400; *Bulgarie*).

„Russia in creating the Great San Stefano Bulgaria had all but solved the Eastern Question, for which the friends of humanity should have applauded her. Nearly the whole of the Bulgarian race was thus united and liberated. Bulgaria constituted a state of above five millions of inhabitants, sufficiently strong to enable it to develop and to defend itself,

in any case without the need of foreign aid in the race for the attainment of her ideal. This was a great result". (Lavaleye. *La Péninsule des Balkans*. Bruxelles, 1886, Tome 2, p. 101).

„Macedonia, with these boundaries confines to the South with Thessaly, from which it is separated by the celebrated Tempis valley and the old mountains of Kambuna; to the west with Albania, from which it is separated by the mountains of Pindus and Gramos; to the north it is limited by the Shar Mountain, the southern frontier of Serbia and that of the Principality of Bulgaria. To the east, beginning from Demir Kapou, the boundary is better indicated: the Rhodope Mountains, which separate it from Eastern Roumelia and Thrace, it reaches to Porto Lagos and the island of Thassos. With these natural boundaries Macedonia encloses a surface about 90—100 thousand square kilometers, and may be compared, as to extent, to $\frac{1}{6}$ of France". . . . „The Bulgarians are the element which represent the true progressive population in Macedonia, thanks to resettlements which happened in the XVIII and in the commencement of the XIX centuries". (Castonnet de Fosses. *La Macédoine et la Politique de l'Autriche en Orient*. Lyon, 1889, pp. 7 et 17).

„The Bulgarian nation occupies at present the part of the Balcan Peninsula, which is indicated in ancient times under the names Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia". (Léon Lamouche. *La Bulgarie dans le passé et le présent*. Paris, 1892, p. 53).

„The most important groupe of Bulgarian population, outside of the frontiers of the Principality, is that of Macedonia, the total is estimated variously from one to two millions, the true number may be put down at one and a half million souls" (ibid, p. 140) „But amongst those who live outside of Bulgaria, we ought specially to mention those who live in Macedonia, they are estimated up to two millions. It is known that this province surely belongs to Bulgaria, the sole party which can pretend to the right to claim its possession. But Serbia, if the Serbian authors with highly interested authenticity could be believed, should be the sole sovereign nation in Macedonia, whose population, according to them is of Serbian race, a fact yet unproved".

„Remain the Greeks with their lawless revandications, often surpassing the border of reason and justice". Dupuy-Peyou. *La Bulgarie aux Bulgares*, Paris, 1896, p. 126).

„On which side will be the success? The answer for me cannot be doubtful, and I constantly turn to the three Slav words which I learned in my travels in Macedonia: „Ja sam Bulgarin" (I am Bulgarian). The Macedonian Slavs call themselves Bulgarians: Struga is Bulgarian, Ochrida is Bulgarian, Bulgarian also is Ressen. The vilayet of Kossovo may yet be a battle field between Serbians and Bulgarians; but in the Bitolia vilayet the Bulgarians know well that there they can have an enemy only in the Greek". (Victor Berard. *La Turquie et L'Hellénisme Contemporain*, Paris, 1897, p. 222).

„The Exarchist Bulgarians number over 200,000 in the Scopiae see against 45 Serbians, Greeks and Patriarchist Vlachs". (Gaulis. *Bulgarie et Macédoine*, Paris, 1902, T. 6, p. 88. St. Peterburg p. 75, 77).

„It is clear that the Bulgarian are the most numerous in Macedonia, and their race has developed notwithstanding the Greeks; they have other opponents in the Serbians, who being also of Slav race, pretend that the Bulgarian population is Bulgarian only in name. Serbia

has also opened schools, but it must be admitted that outside old Serbia (which includes a part of the Kossovo vilayet, along the Serbian border) the Sercian schools are a failure. A remarkable fact at present is the revolutionaries spare the lives and properties of the Serbians and consider them as their own countrymen" (Gaston Routier. *La Question Macédonienne*, Paris 1908, p. 205).

"Constitutional and hereditary monarchy under the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte the Bulgarian Principality possesses, as we have already stated, 3,733,000 inhabitants (1900), but the Bulgarian race spreads extensively beyond its political frontiers; it is numerously represented in northern Albania and Thrace, and forms the greater part of the population in Macedonia" (Leblond. *Affaires Balkaniques. Affaires Turques* Paris, 1903, p. 40).

"Deceived in its expectations, the more cruelly because they were on the point of realization, divided and rent asunder as dictated the interests of the Great powers, the Bulgarian Principality entered into its life under most difficult conditions; such as it was cut out by the diplomats in Berlin, it was a geographical and ethnographical paradox. It grossly failed to unite all the Bulgarians, the greater part of them was left under the Turkish yoke". (René Pinon. *Trente ans d'indépendance. La force Bulgare*, Paris, T. 43, p. 828 de *Revue des deux Mondes*).

"The Bulgarians occupy Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia, and the greatest part of Macedonia, where exist rare islands of Turkish population". (L. Lessense, Lieutenant du 40^{ème} regiment de L'infanterie. *A travers la Question de l'Orient*. Angoulême 1910).

"As regards the language the whole of Macedonia must be counted to Bulgaria and not to Serbia". (Niderle. *Makedonska Otazka*, "Ceska Revue" 1911).

"In the Adrianople Vilayet and Macedonia the Bulgarians number 1,800,000". (Guérin Songeon, *Histoire de la Bulgarie*, Paris 1912).

"My affirmation that the Macedonians consider themselves Bulgarians is unanimously confirmed by all the travellers, not only by those who have visited Macedonia recently, but also in times more distant. The insistence of the Serbians that the name of Bulgarian has been only recently adopted by the population of Macedonia, is simply a pure invention. It is true that, during my travels in 1886, 1889 and 1890, I did meet with some Bulgarians, who told me that they were Greeks because they had sympathies for the Greeks, but I met not one who would call himself Serbian. Pure Serbians, with the exception of immigrants in general, there are none in the whole of Macedonia to the south of the Serbian frontier and the Shar Mountain". (Gustave Vaigand *Die Nationelen Bestrebungen der Balkanvölker*, Leipzig 1889).

"It is known that Macedonia, according to the opinion of all French, German and English geographers, is a Slav Bulgarian country. The population of Macedonia is as follows:

1,172.000 Bulgarians
190.000 Greeks
63.000 Kutzo-Vlachs
12.000 Albanians.

„There are Serbians in old Serbia, some Serbomans (Serbicised Bulgarians) in the north-western Macedonia, but there is no Serbian element, which can justify the annexation of Scopie and Bitolia to Serbia“.

„Those who desire to have a clear idea of the rights of the Bulgarians, should not forget, that Great Bulgaria (San-Stefano Bulgaria) is for them what is for us France, as she was after the Revolution and before the Consulate, that is to say, the complete realization of the national union, without injustice, without annexation of foreign territory. Nothing could justify the annexation to Serbia of the Ochrida caza, which contains 41,600 Bulgarians against 1,100 Serbomans; of the Bitolia caza with 584 Serbomans against 98,800 Bulgarians; of the town of Doiran with 160 Serbomans against 3,100 Bulgarians; neither even of the Scopie caza with 5,800 Serbomans against 27,000 Bulgarians. All this however Serbia claimed and obtained“.

„The situation is the same also as regards Greece. Instead of condemning the Bulgarian unyielding spirit, the French press should be, in the first place, properly informed on the subject. It would then discover the flagrant injustice which sacrificed 43,400 Bulgarians in the caza of Lerin to 110 Greeks; 57,400 Bulgarians in the caza of Kostour to 11,075 Greeks; 47,000 Bulgarians in the caza of Seres to 28,000 Greeks; 11,000 Bulgarians in the Drama caza to 3,800 Greeks. It would then have understood the monstrous annexation to Greece of the caza of Voden, where live 31,000 Bulgarians and not one Greek! (Robert Pelletier. *La Vérité sur la Bulgarie*, Paris 1913, p. 17, 45, 47).

Macedonia is Bulgarian also according to N. C. Derjavin, P. N. Mylyoukoff, Georges Bousquet, H. N. Brailsford, Buxton brothers, Bouchier and others.

„The Greeks disputed Macedonia with the Slavs before 1873, but it had never occurred to the Slavs (Serbians and Bulgarians) ever to dispute it between themselves. The Radical Bulgarian and Serbian young generations, which preached from 1870 the idea of a federation of the southern Slavs, accepted, as they imposed by heritage and tradition fact, that the population of Thrace and Macedonia were as much Bulgarian as that of Macedonia itself“.

(Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Report of the International Commission To Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balcan Wars, Washington U. S. A. 1914).

„The Serbian official statistics for 1895—1896 for Macedonia, give the number of schools at 157, that of scholars at 6,831, that of the teachers, male and female, at 238. It is a fact however that 80 of these schools, 3,958 of these scholars, and 120 of these teachers are such in Old Serbia, outside of Macedonia, this means that more than half belong to a country which no one disputes to the Serbians. Now we will give for the same period the statistics of the Exarchate on the same subject: 1896—97: 843 schools (against 77 Serbians); 1306 teachers (against 118 Serbian); 31,719 scholars (against 2,873 Serbian); 14,713 children in the kinder gardens.

„It is evident from the above, that at the end of XIX century, the overwhelming majority of the Slav population of Macedonia sent its children to the Bulgarian Exarchate school. The school is clearly a great supporter of the national movement, independently of the Church (ibid).

„Happy Bulgaria! Happy Europe, had they held, on the question, to the San-Stefano treaty, and, had they left the Bulgarian people to develop normally in this extensive country, which was included in its historical boundaries, watered with the blood of its ancestors, and populated by its children! Many convulsions would have been spared and the present conflict would not have, probably, arisen, in any case not in its present form and extent. But the evil genius of the XIX century was on the watch. Bismark succeeded to convince Europe that such a reestablishment of Bulgaria was simply an aggrandisement of Russia, which would threaten the European equilibrium; he succeeded to persuade Russia herself, that by the creation at her very door of a young, powerful empire, she was preparing an eventually dangerous bases for the enemies, who may desire to attack her on that side; and the Berlin treaty, in 1878, destroying the logical and full of harmony act of the San-Stefano treaty, tore up Bulgaria in three parts: Macedonia to the south, which fell back again under the rule of Turkish barbarism; to the north the maimed Bulgarian Principality, without the Dobroudja, which was proclaimed as independent, under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan; and a province for which the name of Eastern Roumelia had to be invented, to enjoy administrative autonomy, under the political suzerainty of the Porte“. (George Bousquet. La Bulgarie. Communication faite à la Société de Sociologie de Paris le 14 Mars 1917).

„The existence of five episcopacies, 647 priests, 677 churches in the territory given to Serbia (by the Bukarest treaty, 1913), bears witness to the national conscience of the Bulgarians under Turkish rule, from a religious point of view. The existence in this territory of 596 schools with 1005 teachers, and 36,000 scholars bears witness to the Bulgarian national conscience from an educational point of view. In the territory given to Greece there were 299 priests, 300 churches, which bore witness to the public conscience of the population in these parts from a religious point of view. The number of schools was 340 with 589 teachers and 19,000 scholars; this speaks for the national conscience of the Bulgarians in the territory from an educational point of view“. (Letters to England and the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty. P. O'Mahony. (Translation). Sofia, 1915, p. 50).

Macedonia is Bulgarian also according to the foreign officers who during 1904 were sent to the three Macedonian Vilayets as instructors and organizers of the Turkish Gendarmerie. These officers in direct contact with the population, will, we are certain, establish without hesitation the Bulgarian nationality of Macedonia, as also the Bulgarian aspiration for national union.

Finally, the Bulgarian character of Macedonia is also proved by the fact, that the Macedonian population, with the Internal Organization at its head, as also the Macedonian emigrants in Bulgaria have acted, orally as well as by written declarations, and have clearly demanded, that they preferred Autonomy for Macedonia, guaranteed by the Great Powers, rather than it should suffer partition. Even at present, after so many wars and sacrifices, there are voices, who in fear of partition of our native land thus falling under Greek or Serbian rule, prefer to resort to the same idea-autonomy for Macedonia. On the contrary Serbians and Greeks have ever been against this principle of Autonomy, and they alone have ever demanded for partition. This conduct of theirs reminds one of the similar conduct of the unnatural mother before the judgement of Salomon for the contested child.

CONCLUSION

It should be most evident from the numerous and incontestable facts brought forward here, that Macedonia is a complete geographical and ethnographical body. Its boundaries to the North are outlined by the great mountain chains, which without interruption run from West to East, beginning from the Shar Mountain the boundary passes along the Scopie Black Mountain, along the watershed of the Vardar and the Morava in the Preshevo district, and the Osogovo and Rilo Mountains to the summit of Mousalla, whence starts the eastern boundary of Macedonia, which runs along the western inclines of the Rhodopes to the South-east of the river Mesta, above the village Bouk, and follows this river to the Aegean sea. The Southern boundary of Macedonia starts from the mouth of the river Mesta, follows the sea coast, including the Chacchidian peninsula, as far as the mouth of the river Bistritza, which it follows up to its sources, and continues to the West along the watershed of the river Devol to the Albanian mountains. The western boundary of Macedonia here turns to the North along the mountains to the West of the Ochrida lake and Debra, reaching the most southern parts of the Shar chain.

The great majority of the population of Macedonia is of Bulgarian nationality. The Greeks to the South, the Albanians to the West, and the Turks scattered in separate oases all over the country are infiltrations which do not modify the general ethnographical character of the province, as will be clearly seen in the annexed ethnographical map.

Should it happen, however, that the arguments here detailed, on the real national character of this long suffering country, prove insufficient to completely persuade the competent factors, we beg you to arrange, in accordance with the principle of self determination of the nations, that the Macedonian population be consulted on the following strict conditions:

1. All Serbian and Greek authorities to be withdrawn from Macedonia; the country to be occupied by some impartial state with the rights of all functions of government. This is necessary in order that the population may without fear and in full liberty express its will.
2. The Macedonian emigration, which the insupportable regime drove to take refuge into Bulgaria, to be permitted to freely return to its native places, and be enabled to take part in the eventual plebscit.
3. The numerous emigration in America be also permitted likewise to pronounce itself regarding the future destiny of their native land, to which it will undoubtedly return on the establishment of free government.
4. The Greeks and Serbians, settled after 1913 in Macedonia, with the object of diminishing the importance of the Bulgarian element, being strangers to the land, not to be allowed the right to vote.

Mr. President,

The Macedonian population, which has carried on, during a quarter of a century, a revolutionary struggle for liberty and order in its native land, has more than once declared, it declares today, that it prefers an independent, selfsupporting Macedonia rather than its partition between the neighbouring states, a partition which both Greeks and Serbians aspire to.

Today, however, when all territorial questions are to be decided on the bases of the national principle, triumphantly proclaimed by you, as also in the interest of supreme justice and the enduring peace in the Balkans, the Executive Committee of the Macedonian Brotherhoods in the name of two hundred thousand emigrants in Bulgaria, and that of the Macedonian population, which at present is incapacitated to freely express its will, begs you, Mr President, most respectfully to intercede with the Areopagus of the liberty loving Great Powers, which is to decide the destinies of the nations, and is to establish the frontiers of their states, and contribute for the reunion of Macedonia, entire and undivided, to its fatherland — mother Bulgaria. We believe, that your enlightened mind and your justice will not permit that today, when nations disappeared centuries ago are being reestablished and without special sacrifices, a long-suffering but heroic nation, which has given, at the price of untold sacrifices, the most evident proofs of its superior national conscience, — a nation so full of life to be torn to pieces between greedy neighbours, to lament the days of its life under a foreign yoke.

Trusting that the Macedonian question will finally be justly decided, in accordance with the repeatedly expressed desire of the Macedonian population, and that it will thus be spared new struggles and sufferings, and that we, the driven off sons of Macedonia, will be enabled to return to our dear hearths, to our relatives and friends, there, where repose the sacred ashes of our fathers and forefathers, we beg you, Minister President, to daign to receive the expression of our deepest respects.

The Executive Committee of the Macedonian Brotherhoods

PRESIDENT:

IVAN KARANDJOULOFF,

Attorney General, Ex-Delegate Plenipotentiary to the
Second Peace Conference, from Prilep — Macedonia

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

DR B. TATARCHEFF,

Surgeon at the Alexander Hospital in Sofia, from
Ressen — Macedonia.

D. MICHAILOFF,

Professor at the Sofia Seminary and at the Sofia Military Academy, from Bitolya [Monastir] — Macedonia.

MEMBERS:

T. PAVLOFF,

Ex-deputy of Uskub in the Ottoman Parliament, ex-General Consul of Bulgaria, from Uskub — Macedonia

DR K. STANICHEFF,

Physician at the General office of the Posts and Telegraphs in Sofia, from Koukoush [Kilkish] — Macedonia.

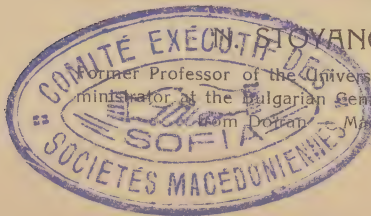
G. BAJDAROFF,

Professor of the III Gymnasium in Sofia, former Chief Editor of the Newspapers in Salonica „Uchitelski Glas“, „Bulgarin“ and „Review of Yskra“, from Gorno-Brody, district of Seres — Macedonia.

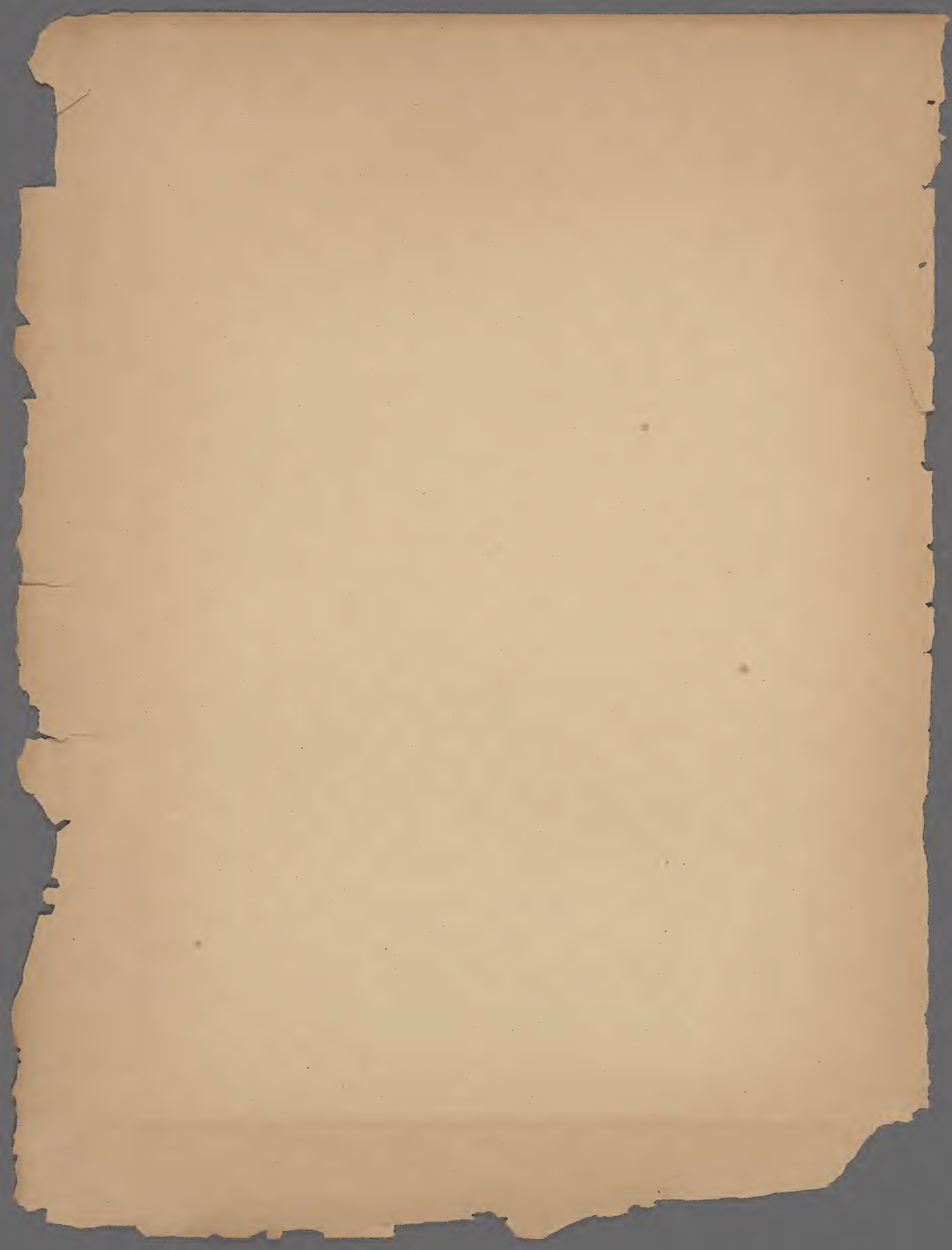
SECRETARY-MEMBER:

STOYANOFF,

Former Professor of the University in Sofia, now Administrator of the Bulgarian General Cooperative Bank, from Doban — Macedonia.







ЕТНОГРАФИЧЕСКА КАРТА НА МАКЕДОНИЈА

по ВАСИЛЪ КАНЧОВЪ, 1900
Мѣрка 1:750,000.

CARTE ETHNOGRAPHIQUE DE LA MACÉDOINE

D'APRÈS VASIL KANCHEV, 1900.
Echelle 1:750,000.

